FROM THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

It is not without misgiving that I have re-entered upon a task which I set myself in the fresh vigour of earlier years. From a tradition which Herodotus leaves almost entirely out of view, which Thucydides regards with sceptical eyes, which presents itself to us under a confused and distorted form, in mutilated fragments of doubtful value, to try to ascertain the actual facts of ancient Greek history, was a bold endeavour. Still bolder was the attempt to discover from such materials the course pursued by the Hellenic spirit in its civilisation, and to bring within the compass of a general view the genesis of the Hellenic nature, as it comes before us in the fifth century B.C., in its connection with the civilisations of the ancient East.

Since this attempt was first made, special research has been pushed forward with the utmost vigour and success. It might have seemed a better and wiser course to forego any fresh reconstruction, to

abandon the field to the critical examination of our sources, and to await the further elucidation and corroboration of tradition, and further results in that discovery of new monuments and inscriptions now so happily carried on.

Considerations of this kind, which must assert themselves at every stage of all historical work, and with pretty nearly equal force, I have finally decided to disregard. Sufficient care is taken that enquiry and criticism shall proceed from one conclusion to another without cessation of their labour: yet, for the basis of science, each of the two factors is equally indispensable; if we need to sift the materials in order to establish the facts, we need also to understand and think of them in combination. It is the interaction of these two factors which discloses the hidden secret; for not only does the whole exist in and through the parts, but from the whole the parts receive their life and light.

If there is some danger at the present moment of straying into the bypaths of minute research, and, while fixing the eye upon the plot of ground so zealously cultivated, to lose sight of the formation of the territory to which it belongs; to mistake the individual character and growth of its plants, which comparison

alone makes comprehensible; and to disregard the germs out of which the life of nations is developed, and the ethical forces which govern it,—this is a sure indication that a connected exposition of a sober and systematic kind cannot be put off till the Greek calends. For my own part, I felt that I was the less justified in refusing to resume my former labours, because some excellent investigations on special subjects showed that in spite of many deficiencies my work had produced good fruit.

I have made no change in my mode of stating the subject; in my narrative, as before, I have woven together the indispensable critical disquisitions upon a basis of traditional facts. What was unnecessary has been removed; what was wrong has been corrected. I have endeavoured to put more plainly and exactly what I said before, and to establish it more fully. To draw the outlines here and there more firmly than the uncertain foundations allowed is a fault which I have not always been able to avoid.

I am not much more confident now than I was twenty years ago that the key of the enigma has been found, that the problems have been solved, the controversies decided, in a field where so much room is opened for them. In regard to the facts of the

ancient history of the Greeks, we must in more than one point be contented with hypothesis and probabilities. Where the decision is left to divination and our evidence fails us, opposite views are not to be excluded. I cannot expect that my accounts will always be accepted. Some views will be thought rash, others overcoloured, others credulous to a degree; but I shall be satisfied with the concession that in all cases my conception has good reasons on its side.

MAX DUNCKER.

BERLIN, *September 1881.*

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE present volume is a translation of the first two books of Professor Duncker's *History of Greece*. In the original, the *History of Greece* is included in the last three volumes of the *History of Antiquity*; in the translation it was thought better that it should appear as a separate work. The translation has been made from the latest German edition.

S. F. ALLEYNE.

CLIFTON, *September 1883*.

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LIST OF ERRATA.

Page 13, line 2, *for* "and" *read* "or."
,, 49, ,, 14, *for* "traditions" *read* "tradition."
,, 64, ,, 33, *for* "on" *read* "in."
,, 152, ,, 9, *for* "Sicels" *read* "Sicilians."
,, 156, ,, 25, *for* "Iolchus" *read* "Iolcus."
,, 156, ,, 33, *for* "a dragon like Ahi, and Vritra" *read* "a dragon; as Ahi and Vritra."
,, 159, ,, 24, *omit* "Notwithstanding that."
,, 160, ,, 1, *insert* "however" *after* "was," *and* "and" *after* "truce."
,, 169, ,, 12, *for* "commend" *read* "command."
,, 210, ,, 6, *for* "Iolchus" *read* "Iolcus."
,, 224, ,, 25, *for* "Æolian" *read* "Æolians."

BOOK I.

THE GREEKS IN ANCIENT TIMES.

CHAPTER I.

THE LAND OF THE GREEKS.

THE regions where the most ancient civilisations grew up, the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates, though extensive, were monotonous in character. The grandeur of Nature in the land of the Ganges threw the development of the eastern Arians into special channels; and the alternation of heat and cold, of fruitful tracts and wildernesses, which their country exhibited, essentially influenced the tendencies and conduct of life among the Arians of Iran. It is otherwise with the western portions of Asia. Here neither such grand and monotonous forms, nor such marked vicissitudes of favourable and unfavourable conditions, nor such impressive and imposing aspects of nature, constitute the groundwork of national life. The contrasts lie within a narrower circle; though the most luxuriant landscapes are far inferior in fruitfulness to the most favoured regions of the east, on the other hand, the poorest are not utterly sterile and dead. Territories of moderate extent, separated from each other by the seas flowing in among them from the west, allow their inhabitants to keep themselves more independent of the power and influences of Nature in her uniform and imposing aspects.

Of the three peninsulas which stretch from the heart of Europe into the Mediterranean, the most easterly is, in its northern half, a mountainous region, difficult of access, extending over the wide tract between the Adriatic and Black Seas, and shutting off by lofty ranges its south-westerly continuation from the land of the Danube. This continuation, narrow in width, stretches far out into the sea towards the south, and combines in its limited area all the natural advantages of Europe. The southern portion is an island only united to the continent by a very narrow isthmus. The whole length from the Ceraunian Mountains in the north to the most southerly promontory embraces but 300 miles; the breadth varies from 200 to 100 miles.

No continuous river-valley forms a link between the territories of the Greek peninsula or unites them together; there is nothing in the configuration of the country to give a uniform character to the whole, no particular part occupies a dominant position in regard to the rest; it is a mountain region in the midst of the sea, the small cantons of which, for the most part, have easier communication with each other by water than by land. The extremities of the mountain chains stretch out in capes of the most various forms into the sea, which here and there washes the base of the highest ridges.

The upper half of the peninsula on the west side towards the Adriatic Sea is full of mountain chains within short distances of each other, running from north-west to south-east. The highest of these, in the centre of the country, the lofty chain of Pindus, which forms the watershed between the Adriatic and the Ægean Seas, runs in the same direction, until it ends upon the shore of the deep bay of the Adriatic, which

divides the Peloponnesus from the rest of the peninsula, in the broad ridge of Mount Parnassus. To the west of Mount Pindus is a green region full of forest and meadow; the rivers are copious, and have a longer course between the parallel chains, making narrow valleys, which now and then broaden into basins. The coast has few divisions: its lines are straight and its character monotonous, rocks and lagunes for the most part prevent ships from landing; only in its lower portion are there secure roadsteads and good harbours, in the Gulfs of Ambracia and Corinth.

The eastern side of the peninsula is differently constituted. Cross ranges of Mount Pindus extend in an easterly direction down to the Ægean; Olympus, the summit of which is nearly 10,000 feet above the sea, and retains its snows even in summer, Othrys, and Oeta. Farther to the south the heights of Parnassus leave room for a fruitful hilly country eastward, separated by the cross range of Mount Cithæron from the southernmost projection, the territory of Attica. Other territories, more extensive and more favourable to cultivation, are separated from each other by these transverse ranges, which are now for the most part bare, and rise in whitish-gray rocky eminences, like the waves of the sea—first, to the north of Mount Olympus, the valley of the Haliacmon leading down to a broad stretch of plain on the coast; then the basin of the Peneus; the beautiful valley of the Spercheus opening out to seaward; the low-lying country to the east of Parnassus; and lastly, the Attic peninsula, containing mountains of moderate height, and stretching far into the sea.

The centre of the Peloponnesus is an undulating mountain region, which, towards the north, sends its

last summits in crowded masses almost to the shore, but in the south allows only high ridges to project into the Mediterranean. In the north-west there is room on the coast for an extensive low-lying plain; in the east the Gulf of Argos runs far up into the land; two river-valleys—one of them narrow, between two high mountain-chains; the other a basin, declining gradually to the sea—open towards the south.

The configuration of the cantons in the peninsula generally is of various and most opposite kinds. We find alpine landscapes in the neighbourhood of the sea—in Olympus, Parnassus, and Taygetus, the two last only 2000 feet lower than Olympus; among their precipitous and jagged ridges hang terraces of snow. Here steep rocky summits tower in peaceful splendour above groves of olive and laurel, there stately forests enclose green spaces; here reigns the bald rigidity of a wild and fissured mountain-group without shrub or spring, there innumerable streams pour down from the upland slopes. Under a clear sky, surrounded by a transparent atmosphere, and reflected in the transparent blue of the sea, the mountains and forms of the landscape are almost constantly shown in sharp and definite outlines, and glow with bright and vivid colours, which sometimes are even harsh.

The climate changes with the landscape. Modified by the various altitudes and the several directions of the mountain chains, it passes through endless gradations, from the rough and chilling atmosphere of the upland plains to the oppressive sultriness of the confined valleys. Here the plane-tree flourishes; on the heights of Mount Pindus, Tomarus, and Oeta, we find the beech and the oak; on the Ilissus the olive; at the mouth of the Pamisus the date-palm. On the

south and east coasts the heat in summer is excessive; but it is tempered by the neighbourhood of the sea and by the sea-breezes. At that season there is hardly any rain excepting a few sudden and violent storms; but spring and autumn bring frequent and tolerably continuous showers.

The earth is somewhat grudging and scanty in its yield. The lower hills, it is true, were covered with stately forests, the beautiful pastures on the upland slopes sufficed for the breeding of cattle, the numerous well-situated mountain terraces were favourable to the culture of the vine; but for agricultural operations flat spaces could seldom be found, and still more seldom, suitable soil. Even where rocks and precipices left room for tillage, barley alone could be obtained from the stony ground; in other places clay and limestone were unconquerable. The want of water was the most serious difficulty. In the west of the northern portion of the peninsula, where it is abundant, the valleys are but narrow gorges; in the east, with the exception of the Peneus and the Spercheus, the streams are scarcely more than mountain-torrents which in the height of summer lose themselves in insignificant runlets, though in spring and autumn they are raging floods. In summer the springs fail, the meadows and pastures dry up, and the limestone soil cracks asunder in the heat. The herdsman drives his cattle to the cool heights and to the springs on the upper ridges. Only here and there is this scarcity relieved by the lakes which are formed by the waters running down into the hollows of the valleys. Thus in Thessaly, midway in the course of the Peneus, around the Lakes Nessonis and Bœbeis, there were fertile tracts; and the lakes of Copæ and Hyle watered the flats of Bœotia. The

Peloponnesus was indebted for its best lands to the Alpheus, to the Southern Peneus, and the Pamisus, which deposit fruitful alluvium where they fall into the sea.

With its broken ground, its richly-developed coast, its meagre soil, its variety of natural formations within a limited area, the Greek peninsula presents a marked contrast to the regions of civilisation in the East. Instead of grand but uniform phenomena we find here variety and individuality of form. There are no great rivers to produce the abundant crops and fertility of the countries on the Nile, the Euphrates, and the Ganges; but the deserts likewise are absent by which these countries are enclosed or bounded. Life was neither exempt from toil nor condemned to constant wandering. Even in Asia we saw that the greatest and most extensive development occurred where sea and mountains approach nearest to each other, on those coasts of the Phœnicians behind which rise the mountains of Israel. Here the ancient civilisations of the Nile and the Euphrates came in contact with one another, and there grew up on the coast an active life; while among the mountains farther inland the ideal instincts of the human breast received their most lasting impulse. But in Syria the coast and the inland territory are separate and distinct, whereas in Hellas they everywhere intersect each other. In Hellas we have both the Syrian coast and the Syrian mountain country, but placed in the midst of the sea. There are the same favourable conditions of life, sea and mountains, mountain air and ocean breezes, but in fuller measure. The climate is more temperate; it neither induces indolence nor excites to sensuality. The comparative poverty of the Greek soil was advantageous to the development of the national industry.

There was no danger of man's sinking beneath the power and the gifts of Nature, for he was forced to lead a temperate, active, and hardy life. The variety of the soil was a compensation for its unproductiveness. If the mountains with their pastures afforded a favourable abode for the pastoral life, if the shepherds and peasants of the upper valleys attained the resolute and independent spirit of mountaineers, that loyalty to ancient customs, that steadfastness and exclusiveness which troubles itself little about neighbours on the other side of the dividing ridge, there was in all this the element of movement in close proximity to that of persistence. The sea, which washes all these mountain cantons, except the Peloponnesian highlands, must have opposed a strong counterpoise to this exclusiveness. As soon as the population became denser, the inhabitants were forced either to seek their subsistence from the soil by diligent labour or to betake themselves to the sea. The more zealously agriculture and navigation were pursued, the sooner man emancipated himself from the fetters and tutelage of Nature, the more varied and self-dependent were the forms his life assumed. The occupations of the herdsman and the hunter on the mountains, agriculture on the plains, fishing and navigation on the coasts,—there are no healthier conditions of life than these for a youthful population; more especially when these conditions exist in such close juxtaposition as in Greece. Constrained to exercise their powers in such various directions, among such manifold and stimulating influences, a people endowed with natural talents, a lively temperament, elasticity, and productiveness, might easily attain the happiest development. Under a southern sky, amidst scenery small in scale and perfect in proportion, its forms well

defined and pleasing to the senses, its colours transparent and vivid,—in such surroundings it was natural that men, their commerce, and their works should assume a peculiarly marked and definite character. In the progress of development, the highly-favoured regions to the east of the Pindus could not fail very soon to show their superiority. They were not only more spacious and possessed of larger tracts of fruitful soil, but the conformation of their coasts is far more advantageous than that of the western side. There are also innumerable islands contiguous to the eastern coast, and the sea which washes it was a means of conveying hither the ancient civilisations of the East or of transporting the inhabitants to the seats of those civilisations.

CHAPTER II.

THE GREEK PEOPLE.

The Greeks regarded themselves as the aborigines of the peninsula which they occupied, as the sons of the soil, of the mountains, of the rivers. In this they were mistaken. Their ancestors had once immigrated from a great distance into the country inhabited by their descendants on Mount Pindus, Mount Olympus, and the island of Pelops. In the far East, beyond the lands of the Semitic races, we found the stock of these Arians, branches from which colonised the highlands of Iran, and descended into the valley of the Indus and to the Ganges. The Greeks spoke, and still speak, a language which, with special modifications, grew out of the same roots that formed the languages of the Arians in Iran and India. As has been already observed, a similar relationship with the languages of the Arians of the East appears in the languages of the Italian, Celtic, Letto-Slavic, and Germanic races. Accordingly, their ancestors must have been branches of the Arian family; they, and among them the fathers of the Greeks, must have immigrated into the countries where history finds them. The region in which the ancestors of the Arians dwelt before their separation can only be so far determined that it seems to have been a high tract of country in the middle of the eastern continent; still less can we

fix, even approximately, the time when the branches of the Arians whom we find in the West separated themselves from their eastern brethren. The question whether the tribes who came to the West did so in one mass and were afterwards divided, or from the first migrated in detached bodies, is likewise unanswerable. But the close similarity in sound between the languages of the two Arian branches which colonised the Italian and Greek peninsulas points to the conclusion that these two branches held longer together, and grew from the same bough of the great tree.

The route by which the ancestors of the Greeks came to Mount Pindus and Mount Olympus can only be traced in its last stages. We know that there were races of Arian origin in the highlands of Armenia in the centre of Asia Minor, farther on towards the Hellespont, and beyond it in Thrace and Illyria. If these races spread in a continuous chain from Armenia through Asia Minor to the Hellespont, and then throughout the whole breadth of the peninsula of the Balkan from the Black Sea to the Adriatic—which, however, cannot be proved—the forefathers of the Greeks did not take this route or come from Asia Minor. In order to reach their peninsula from the west coasts of Asia Minor, they must in that case have settled in the islands of the Ægean Sea, in the Cyclades, or they must have passed along the coasts of Thrace. Of the latter route, which would have been extraordinarily difficult, there is not a trace; and it is certain that the islands of the Ægean belonged in ancient times to the Carians, who colonised them from their own home on the west coast of Asia Minor.[1] It

[1] Concerning the hypothesis of the original abode of the Ionians on the west coast of Asia Minor, the reader is referred to the adverse arguments in Gutschmid's *Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Orients*, p. 124 ff.

is probable that the peninsula began to be occupied from quite another quarter, and in an entirely opposite direction, and that the ancestors of the Greeks proceeded from north-west to south-east. The reasons for this opinion are the following:—(1) that both the names of the Greek people, the earlier as well as the later (Γραικοί and Ἕλληνες), are attached to a district in the north-west;[1] (2) that the holy place described in the Homeric poems and by Herodotus as the oldest among the Greeks is situated in the north-west, near the Adriatic; (3) that the islands in the western sea adjacent to the coasts of Epirus were early in possession of the Greeks; (4) that in historical times there was a great migration from the north-west and from Epirus toward the south-east; and (5) that from the north a great impulse was given to repeated occupations of the eastern and southern regions of the peninsula. We may therefore suppose that the ancestors of the Hellenes and of the Oscans arrived at their peninsulas from the north; that they once travelled along the northern shores of the Black Sea and up the valley of the Danube; that, still following the valley of the Danube or the Save and here turning to the south, they passed down the coast of the Adriatic, some of them towards Italy and others to the peninsula, which they then colonised. In historic times Alaric and his West Goths came from Pannonia and Dalmatia along the Adriatic, with wives and children, goods and flocks, to Epirus; and from thence they pressed on southward to ravage the Peloponnesus. From Epirus Alaric then returned again by the shores of the Adriatic to seek for spoil and dominion in Italy; from Epirus, too, the Ostrogoths of Theodoric penetrated into Thessaly,

[1] Aristot. *Meteor.* 1, 14.

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[1] Aristot. *Meteor.* 1, 14.

before Theodoric had made up his mind to follow the steps of Alaric.

Whether the Greek tribes, as they came with their herds, like the Goths of Alaric, westward of the central chain forming the watershed between the Adriatic and the Ægean, found the higher lands and valleys which they had to traverse before the green and well-watered dales of Epirus tempted them to stay, already in possession of the Illyrians, whom we find there in historic times, we cannot tell. If it were so, the Greeks must have broken through their settlements.[1] The Illyrians had advanced even less than their eastern neighbours the Thracians beyond the first stages of culture, and slight and transient attempts at combination among some of their tribes (never the whole of them). This was a great advantage to the Greeks, whose development was thus unshackled by the pressure of close neighbours of another nationality. Nevertheless, these two nations maintained their position between the Adriatic and the Black Sea. Although subsequently incursions of invaders were more numerous and more destructive on the east of the Balkan peninsula than on the west, and though the Thracians in particular were subjected to many Romanising influences, the language of the descendants of the Thracians, the Roumanians, shows unmistakable traces of kinship with the Albanian, the surviving representative of the Illyrian dialect, which it is true we also know only in very late forms.[2]

Did the tribes of the Greeks in their southward progress from the Ceraunian Mountains encounter at that point, or farther on in the peninsula, in the Isle

[1] Pott, *Ungleichheit der Rassen*, p. 71, is of this opinion.
[2] Pott, *Indo-Germanischer Sprachstamm*, p. 85.

of Pelops, a more ancient population? That the Carians and Leleges (both names apply to the same people[1]) had already established themselves in the Cyclades, on the coasts of the Isthmus, and in the Peninsula of Argos, when the Greeks arrived, is in itself probable enough, and will be proved later on. The Carians were already settled in the islands of the Ægean before the Phœnicians navigated this sea; *i.e.* before 1250 B.C.[2] The notion of a considerable and widely-spread older population in the cantons of the peninsula dispossessed by the Greeks is contradicted by the structure of the Greek language, which cannot be shown to have absorbed any foreign elements.

We know that the Arians, before their division into various branches, had already made the first steps in civilisation. Common designations, *i.e.* designations agreeing in sound in the Arian tongues, for members of families, for house and farm, for domestic animals, for a certain kind of grain, for ploughs and grinding at a mill, for certain metals, for carriage, boat and rudder,—all these show us that the Arians at that time understood the culture of the ground as well as the care of herds, and that the fundamental mechanical arts required to obtain the necessaries of life were not unknown to them. The ox is called by the Arians on the Indus and Ganges *gâus*, by the Greeks *βοῦς*; the bull is called by the former *sthûras*, by the latter

[1] Herod. 5, 119; 1, 171: "The Carians were called Leleges in ancient times." Strabo, pp. 321, 661. According to Pherecydes, the Leleges dwelt at the mouth of the Cayster, the Carians at that of the Mæander. Strabo, p. 632. The identification of the Carian Leleges with the λεκτοί of Deucalion, from whom the Locrians, the inhabitants of Mount Parnassus, and part of the Ætolians claimed to be derived, has caused endless confusion.

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[1] Herod. 5, 119; 1, 171: "The Carians were called Leleges in ancient times." Strabo, pp. 321, 661. According to Pherecydes, the Leleges dwelt at the mouth of the Cayster, the Carians at that of the Mæander. Strabo, p. 632. The identification of the Carian Leleges with the λεκτοί of Deucalion, from whom the Locrians, the inhabitants of Mount Parnassus, and part of the Ætolians claimed to be derived, has caused endless confusion.

[2] Thucyd. 1, 4; 1, 8. Herod. 1, 171.

ταῦρος; the goose and the dog are in the one case *hansas* and *çvan*, in the other *χήν* and *κύων*. The Arians on the Indus call the horse *açvas*, the Arians in Iran *açpas*, the Greeks *ἵππος*. A father is called by the Greeks *πατήρ*, by the Arians in Iran and India *pita;* daughter is in Greek *θυγάτηρ*, with the Arians in India *duhitâ* (she who milks cows), with the Arians in Iran *dughadhar*. Door is in Greek *θύρα*; with the Arians in Iran and India *dvâram* signifies gate. A house, a room, are called by the Greeks *δόμος* and *δῶμα*, by the Indians *damas*. *Ϝοῖκος* and *Ϝάστυ* signify in Greek dwelling; with the Arians in India *viças* and *vâstu* have the same meaning. The yoke for oxen is called by the Indians *jugam*, by the Greeks *ζυγόν*; the axle of a chariot, *akshas* by the Indians, *ἄξων* by the Greeks; a mill is *μύλη* with the Greeks, the Indians call grinding *malanam;* a boat is *plavas* with the Indians, with the Greeks *πλοῖον*; a ship *nâus* with the Indians, *ναῦς* with the Greeks; a rudder *aritras* with the Indians, *ἐρετμὸς* with the Greeks. That before the Arians separated into their various branches time among them was measured by the new and full moon is proved by the similar designations for the moon and month among the Indians, Iranians, and Greeks,—*mâs* and *maonha* in the one case, *μήν* and *μήνη* in the other,—all referring to measurement (from the root *ma*). The collective designation for the gods is the same with the Greeks and the Indians; the Indians call their gods *dêva*, the Greeks call theirs *θεοί*; *θεός* and *δῖος* (divine) being derived, like *dêvas*, from the root *div*, that is, to shine; the Greeks, like the Arians of Iran and the Indus, worshipped the gods of light and of the bright sky as their protectors and helpers. The god of the highest heaven—of the

heavenly water—is called by the Indians *Varunas*, by the Greeks Οὐρανός.

Such were the notions and acquirements, so far, as they were not modified or forgotten in the course of long wanderings, brought by the Greeks to their new western home from the ancient and common stock of the Arians. Whence they came, and that they had come at all, the Greeks had forgotten long since, when they began to reflect upon their origin. As in the songs of the Rigveda, the men of the ancient, later, and modern time are distinguished, and the Arians of Iran call the ancient rulers by the general name of *Paradhata*, so the Greeks designate their primeval ancestor as Pelasgi. As the various families supposed themselves to be descended from their soil, their mountains, their rivers, so the Pelasgi must be descended from the land which they inhabited. The poet Asius of Samos, who lived in the first half of the seventh century B.C., sang thus:—"The black earth bore upon the high and woody mountains the godlike Pelasgus, that there might be a race of mortals."[1] Also in the poems which bear the name of Hesiod, Pelasgus is "born from the earth."[2] Æschylus makes Pelasgus, who with him is king of Argos, speak as follows:—"I am Pelasgus, son of the earth-born Palæchthon (*i.e.* the ancient land). Gloriously called after me their king, the race of the Pelasgians cultivates this land, and I rule all the territory to the west, through which the Strymon flows. My kingdom is bordered by the land of the Perrhæbians, the farther slope of Pindus, and Dodona's mountains,—it is only cut off by the watery sea,—so far I rule."[3] Æschylus therefore makes the land of Pelasgians extend from Pelopon-

[1] Pausan. 8, 1, 4. [2] Apollod. 2, 1, 1. [3] *Suppl.* 250.

ταῦρος; the goose and the dog are in the one case *hansas* and *çvan*, in the other χήν and κύων. The Arians on the Indus call the horse *açvas*, the Arians in Iran *açpas*, the Greeks ἵππος. A father is called by the Greeks πατήρ, by the Arians in Iran and India *pita;* daughter is in Greek θυγάτηρ, with the Arians in India *duhitâ* (she who milks cows), with the Arians in Iran *dughadhar*. Door is in Greek θύρα; with the Arians in Iran and India *dvâram* signifies gate. A house, a room, are called by the Greeks δόμος and δῶμα, by the Indians *damas*. Ϝοῖκος and Ϝάστυ signify in Greek dwelling; with the Arians in India *vêças* and *vâstu* have the same meaning. The yoke for oxen is called by the Indians *jugam*, by the Greeks ζυγόν; the axle of a chariot, *akshas* by the Indians, ἄξων by the Greeks; a mill is μύλη with the Greeks, the Indians call grinding *malanam;* a boat is *plavas* with the Indians, with the Greeks πλοῖον; a ship *nâus* with the Indians, ναῦς with the Greeks; a rudder *aritras* with the Indians, ἐρετμὸς with the Greeks. That before the Arians separated into their various branches time among them was measured by the new and full moon is proved by the similar designations for the moon and month among the Indians, Iranians, and Greeks,—*mâs* and *maonha* in the one case, μήν and μήνη in the other,—all referring to measurement (from the root *ma*). The collective designation for the gods is the same with the Greeks and the Indians; the Indians call their gods *dêva*, the Greeks call theirs θεοί; θεός and δῖος (divine) being derived, like *dêvas*, from the root *div*, that is, to shine; the Greeks, like the Arians of Iran and the Indus, worshipped the gods of light and of the bright sky as their protectors and helpers. The god of the highest heaven—of the

practised agriculture, and had therefore established themselves in settled abodes; in which on this foundation the oldest commonwealths were built up. In this sense the Hesiodic poems designate the settlement near the oak of Dodona as the seat of Pelasgus, and Herodotus calls it the seat of the Pelasgi.[1] Pelasgus is said to have arrived at Dodona and to have ruled there; and, according to Ephorus, the Pelasgians were the founders of the sanctuary.[2] The name of Pelasgi clung so firmly to the fruitful lands on the lower Peneus and the regions on the Lakes Nessonis and Bœbeis that the emigrants who afterwards issued from that country continued to be called Pelasgians, and the territory Pelasgiotis. Here had been the Pelasgic ground, the Pelasgic Argos;[3] here Pelasgus had ruled and had given to the land of Thessaly the more ancient name Pelasgia; here in marriage with the daughter of the Peneus he had begotten Phrastor, who was succeeded in the government by Amyntor, Teutamides, and Nanas, so Hellanicus relates.[4] With King Pelasgus of Argos on the Inachus we are already acquainted; his grave was shown here in the temple of the "Pelasgic Demeter," *i.e.* the goddess of agriculture.[5] After Pelasgus of Argos, says Acusilaus, Peloponnesus was named, and the whole country as far as Pharsalus and Larisa in Thessaly was called Pelasgia.[6] According to Herodotus, the Pelasgic women had already celebrated the Thesmophoria to Demeter (*i.e.* the feast of the ordinances of the life

[1] Hesiod in Strabo, p. 475; Herod. 2, 52.

[2] Ephor. *Fragm.* 54 M; Plut. *Pyrrh.* 1; Steph. B., Ἐφύρα; *Etymolog. Magn.* Δωδωναῖος.

[3] *Iliad*, 2, 840; Strabo, pp. 220, 443.

[4] *Fragm.* 1 M; Eustath. *ad Iliad*, 2, 681.

[5] Pausan. 2, 22, 1.

[6] *Fragm.* 11 M.

nesus to Dodona, over Olympus, as far as the Strymon. "The whole country," says Thucydides, "was not, as it appears to me, called Hellas in ancient times, but the various tribes, of which the Pelasgians were the most widely spread, gave their own names to the different districts."[1] The Homeric poems also make use of the name Pelasgi as the designation belonging to ancient times; for Zeus as worshipped in the most ancient holy place of Greece is there invoked as "Pelasgic Zeus."[2]

The name Pelasgi belonged especially to those regions which, so far as the knowledge of the Greeks extended, had never changed their inhabitants. This was particularly the case with Arcadia, the inhabitants of which were said to be older than the moon, and to have been acorn-eaters; for acorns, in the opinion of the Greeks, had been in ancient times food for men.[3] Accordingly the Arcadians appropriated Pelasgus specially to themselves; they said he had been king of Arcadia, and that Arcadia was called Pelasgia. In marriage with Cyllene, the nymph of the highest mountain group in the north of Arcadia, Pelasgus had begotten Lycaon; and from the sons of Lycaon the inhabitants of the Arcadian province were descended.[4] So Herodotus calls the Arcadians, and likewise the inhabitants of Attica, Pelasgi. Of Attica it was also certain that it had never changed its inhabitants; and the Athenians were very proud of the honour of descent from their soil, of their autochthony.[5] But those cities might also lay claim to the title of antiquity, which in ancient times had been the centres of the worship of the gods, in which Greek tribes had first

[1] Thucyd. 1, 3. [2] *Iliad*, 16, 233.
[3] Herod. 1, 66; Apoll. Rhod. 4, 263, 264; Paus. 8, 1, 5, 6.
[4] Hesiod in Strabo, p. 221; Apoll. 3, 8, 1; Hecatæi *Fragm.* 375 M.
[5] Herod. 1, 146; 8, 44.

practised agriculture, and had therefore established themselves in settled abodes; in which on this foundation the oldest commonwealths were built up. In this sense the Hesiodic poems designate the settlement near the oak of Dodona as the seat of Pelasgus, and Herodotus calls it the seat of the Pelasgi.[1] Pelasgus is said to have arrived at Dodona and to have ruled there; and, according to Ephorus, the Pelasgians were the founders of the sanctuary.[2] The name of Pelasgi clung so firmly to the fruitful lands on the lower Peneus and the regions on the Lakes Nessonis and Bœbeis that the emigrants who afterwards issued from that country continued to be called Pelasgians, and the territory Pelasgiotis. Here had been the Pelasgic ground, the Pelasgic Argos;[3] here Pelasgus had ruled and had given to the land of Thessaly the more ancient name Pelasgia; here in marriage with the daughter of the Peneus he had begotten Phrastor, who was succeeded in the government by Amyntor, Teutamides, and Nanas, so Hellanicus relates.[4] With King Pelasgus of Argos on the Inachus we are already acquainted; his grave was shown here in the temple of the "Pelasgic Demeter," *i.e.* the goddess of agriculture.[5] After Pelasgus of Argos, says Acusilaus, Peloponnesus was named, and the whole country as far as Pharsalus and Larisa in Thessaly was called Pelasgia.[6] According to Herodotus, the Pelasgic women had already celebrated the Thesmophoria to Demeter (*i.e.* the feast of the ordinances of the life

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[4] *Fragm.* 1 M; Eustath. *ad Iliad*, 2, 681.

[5] Pausan. 2, 22, 1.

[6] *Fragm.* 11 M.

founded upon the cultivation of the soil);[1] and if the invention of the goad to drive the ploughing oxen, and the building of fortified towns, are ascribed to the Pelasgi, the building of Larisa in Argos (called after the daughter of Pelasgus), of Larisa on the Peneus, and of Larisa in Phthiotis,[2]—all this points to the beginning of that settled and orderly life already taking into consideration defence and protection, which was attributed to the Pelasgi, *i.e.* to antiquity.

Ephorus considered the Arcadians to be the original Pelasgi. He explained the spread of the name over the whole of Hellas by saying that the Arcadians had adopted a warlike life, and, having induced many other territories to do the same, had given them all a share in the name Pelasgi, which belonged to themselves, and had won great distinction among the Hellenes as well as among the tribes to whom they came elsewhere.[3] Also, according to Herodotus, the whole country of the Greeks was once called Pelasgia; the Thesprotians, the first inhabitants of Thessaly, the people of Attica, all the Ionians, the ancient Argives, and the Arcadians, are alike Pelasgi with him.[4] Strabo sums up the question thus: "Almost all are agreed that the ancient race of the Pelasgi once spread themselves throughout the whole of Hellas, but mostly among the Æolians in Thessaly; they were the oldest race that ruled in Hellas."[5]

Instead of the general name of Pelasgians that of Achæans appeared at a later date, to be superseded again by a third, that of Hellenes. But as the name of

[1] Herod. 2, 50, 171.
[2] *Etymolog. Magn.* ἄκαινα; Strabo, p. 440; Paus. 2, 24, 1; Steph. B., Λάρισα.
[3] *Fragm.* 54 M.
[4] Herod. 2, 56; 1, 59; 2, 171; 7, 95; 8, 44.
[5] Strabo, pp. 220, 321, 327.

the Pelasgians clung to certain districts which in the earliest times had assumed a prominent position, or were supposed to have done so, and remained attached to them even in the historic period, so the second name was retained in local designations of districts and races which had been pre-eminently famous in the Achæan period of Hellenic history. It adhered to the emigrants from the plain of the Inachus and the valley of the Eurotas; it was given subsequently to the places which they occupied; it remained with the race which from the earliest period had established itself in the mountain country in the south of Thessaly. The third collective name, that of Hellenes, came in historic times from the north of the peninsula, from Dodona and the territory of Hellas belonging to the Achæans of Phthia, and was brought into use first through an ancient religious community of the tribes of the north-east, and further through the oracle of Delphi.[1] The tendency of the tribes, who entered Peloponnesus from the north, and, overthrowing the ancient commonwealths, assumed the dominion over it, to attribute to themselves a different origin from that of the conquered people, caused it to be employed, and in the first half of the seventh century it was fully established. The warrior hosts which obtained the mastery over several tracts of the Peloponnesus (they belonged chiefly to the Dorian race) traced their descent from Hellen, a personification of the name of the district of Hellas. The father of Hellen was said to be Deucalion, from whom the mountain tribes around Parnassus, especially the Locrians, claimed descent.

[1] This must certainly be inferred from the Rhetra of Delphi, which, before the end of the ninth century, commanded that temples should be founded to Zeus Hellanios and to Athena Hellania. Further details later on, Book 3, c. 14.

Deucalion, in the oldest phase of the mythus among the Greeks, was the first mortal. Hellen belonged undoubtedly to Hellas in Phthiotis. Here Deucalion, or Hellen after him, is said to have ruled. Thucydides says: "When Hellen and his sons had become powerful in Phthiotis, and began to be summoned to the aid of other places, these were called, on account of such alliances, Hellenes, but the name was a long time in coming into general use for all."[1]

Such an explanation of the transition from the collective names of Pelasgians and Achæans to the collective name of Hellenes could not be satisfactory to those who forgot that under the general designation Pelasgi, in its original meaning, the Dorians no less than all the other races of the Hellenes were included, and who regarded the Dorians as a separate race, side by side with the descendants of the Pelasgi, because they arrived later than most of the other tribes in the abodes which they afterwards occupied. If the Dorians are to be considered a separate people, the question immediately arises—What was their relation to the posterity of the Pelasgi? How is it to be explained that nations which never changed their abode, and were notoriously descended from the Pelasgians, as the people of Attica and the Arcadians, could, equally have been called, and have become, Hellenes? Did the Hellenic language belong then to the Dorians, *i.e.* to the Hellenes, or did the Pelasgi already speak Hellenic? In that case they must also *have been Hellenes even before the Dorians came to* Peloponnesus.

"The Athenians," says Herodotus, "were from all antiquity a Pelasgic, the Spartans a Hellenic, nation;

[1] Thuc. 1, 3.

the former never changed its abode, but the latter has moved about considerably. Under their king Deucalion they dwelt in Phthiotis; under Dorus, the son of Hellen, below Olympus, in the territory called Hestiæotis. From hence they wandered to the country of the Dryopes, and when they came into Peloponnesus they were called the Doric race.[1] What language the Pelasgi spoke I cannot say with certainty; but if we may draw any conclusions from those who are still Pelasgi but once dwelt in the land of Hestiæotis, in the neighbourhood of the Dorians, and beyond the Tyrrhenians in the city of Creston, and from those who built Placia and Scylace on the Hellespont after they had dwelt near the Athenians, and from the other Pelasgic settlements which have changed their names,—if we may argue from these, the Pelasgi must have spoken a barbarous language. If this was the case with the whole Pelasgic race, the people of Attica, when they were transformed into Hellenes, must also have changed their speech. For neither the language of the Crestoniates nor of the Placians agrees with any other spoken by any of their neighbours, but they agree with one another; from which it is plain that they have preserved the character of the language which they brought with them at their immigration. The Hellenic nation, however, as it seems to me, has always retained the same language ever since it became a nation. After its separation from the Pelasgi it was weak; but from small beginnings it has increased to a great size, since many barbarian races have allied themselves with it."

[1] Herod. 1, 56. I here leave Ossa out of the question, as it does not apply in the least; likewise the abode of the Dorians on Mount Pindus as Μακεδνὸν ἔθνος, which is no doubt merely grounded on the kinship of the Dorians and Macedonians.

The proof of the diversity of the Hellenic and Pelasgic races which Herodotus proposes to establish he has not established here. His own deduction supposes that the Pelasgi once dwelt near the Dorians, *i.e.* near the Hellenes of Herodotus, in the district of Hestiæotis; it assumes further that the Hellenes, *i.e.* *the Dorians, had separated from the Pelasgi—they must* therefore have been previously united. The Pelasgian emigrants, to whose language Herodotus refers, were expelled from the territory of Pelasgiotis by the Thessalians, and were said to have been driven into Attica; thence wandering onward they are supposed to have reached Lemnos, and, according to the statement of Herodotus, they founded two very unimportant places, Placia and Scylace (on the Propontis, eastward from Cyzicus), and the town of Creston, which we must seek in the Thracian territory of Crestonice at the sources of the Echeidorus.[1] Whether these three places had any valid reason, or any reason at all, for supposing that they descended from the Thessalian Pelasgi; whether Herodotus got the information from other quarters, and on what evidence it rested,—all this is more than doubtful. It will be seen that the ejection of the older population of Thessaly took place somewhere about the year 1050 B.C.; between the emigration and the date when Herodotus investigated the origin and dialects of these towns, there lay, according

[1] Herod. 1, 57; 5, 3; 7, 124. *Thucydides bears testimony to* these Pelasgians, "beyond the Tyrsenians," as Herodotus more closely defines the situation of Creston, when he says (4, 109) of the towns of the peninsula of Mount Athos, "they are inhabited by mixed races of barbarians speaking two languages; a small portion is Chalcidic, but the greater part Pelasgic, sprung from the Tyrseni who once inhabited Attica and Lemnos, Bisaltic, Crestonian, and Edonian (*i.e.* Thracian), but they dwell in small towns." Dionysius of Halicarnassus, however, thinks Creston is Croton. *Antiq.* 1, 18.

to this computation no less than six hundred years. During such a period the language of the Greeks and of the islands might undergo considerable changes, and still more might this be the case with the languages of wholly isolated descendants of weak races dwelling in Thrace, if even their ancestors had been of Greek extraction. But we need pay no attention to the inquiry, whether the divergence of languages in these places depends upon this—that the supposed emigrants in their isolation held fast the old Greek forms in contrast to the course of the formation of language on the peninsula; or upon this—that the dialect of the three places had supplemented itself with Thracian elements (the inhabitants of Lemnos, who are said to have migrated from Thessaly with the Pelasgi, spoke Greek); for Herodotus himself has not held to the result of the deduction which he somewhat timidly draws. If he makes the women of the Pelasgi in Argos celebrate the Thesmophoria of Demeter, this is a festival specially and entirely belonging to the Greeks; if he makes the Pelasgi give to the Greek gods the names which they partly invented —such as Hera, Hestia, Themis, the Dioscuri, the Charites and Nereids, and partly derived from the Egyptians (this last statement is wholly incorrect)—the Hellenes had received these names from the Pelasgi[1] —in that case these Pelasgi must have spoken Greek, since Hellĕnic collective names for the gods are derived from Arian-Greek roots; indeed Herodotus himself, in his interpretation of the story of the Egyptians about the founding of the oracle at Dodona, represents the woman who was taken from Egyptian Thebes to

[1] Herod. 2, 171. Pausanias makes Pelasgus entertain Demeter in Argos, and says the temple of Demeter Pelasgis at Argos was founded by Pelasgus. Pelarge instituted mysteries of Demeter, 1, 14, 1; 2, 22, 1; 9, 25, 7.

Dodona, in the country of the Pelasgic Thesprotians, as learning the Hellenic language.[1] And he also tells us, like all other historians, that the Hellenes emigrated from Phthiotis, *i.e.* straight from a territory which the ancient population, the Achæan population, notoriously possessed.[2] How could they then speak any other language than that of the ancient race to which they themselves belonged? And, putting aside all this, is it conceivable that the whole Greek race—the Arcadians, the people of Attica, the Ionians, and the rest—should in presence of the Dorians, one tribe, one fraction of a tribe, give up its own language and learn another, only to please that tribe which had not even subjugated all the other tribes, but had merely conquered some cantons of the Peloponnesus? What a wonderful people the Greeks would have been if, as supposed by the inference of Herodotus, they had grown up mostly from Pelasgians of barbarian tongue, and in a lesser degree from a Hellenic-speaking race, few in number, "with whom, however, numerous barbarians of another kind" had allied themselves. In addition to all these arguments against the theory there is lastly the fact that the names of Hellas and Hellenes belong to the same regions which are the prominent centres of the life of the Pelasgi, in the Pelasgic-Achæan times. The *Eoæ* name the district round Dodona "Hellopia;" the Homeric poems call the interpreters of the god at Dodona, who declare his will, or all the inhabitants of Dodona, "Selli;" Pindar calls them "Helli." Strabo says: "Whether with Pindar we should read 'Helli,' or, as is supposed in Homer, 'Selli,' the doubtful manner of writing must leave undecided." Indeed, according to a common interchange of sounds

[1] Herod. 2, 51, 52. [2] Herod. 2, 56.

in the Greek language, the forms "Helli" and "Selli" are the same.[1] Aristotle tells us, "Ancient Hellas lies around Dodona and the Achelous, which has several times changed its course; here dwelt the people who were formerly called Græci, but are now called Hellenes."[2] Dodona was according to this at once the seat of the Pelasgi and of the Hellenes. The second territory called Hellas in Thessaly in the region to which the name of the Achæans is attached, because the ancient population had possessed it, is mentioned in the *Odyssey*, and in the catalogue of ships in the *Iliad*, in the immediate neighbourhood of Phthia, or in the district of Phthia itself.[3] According to Dicæarchus, this Hellas lay southward from Pharsalus, between Pharsalus and Melitæa, *i.e.* on the Enipeus, which flows from the northern slope of Mount Othrys to the Peneus.[4] Here in Phthiotis, as we have seen, Thucydides represents Hellen and his sons as becoming powerful, and assisting the other tribes, from which they gradually took the name of Hellenes (*sup.* p. 20); from hence Herodotus makes the Dorians, his Hellenes, migrate. The Parian marble gives a very early date for the introduction of the name of Hellenes (without any change of language), making Hellen rule in Phthiotis in 1520 B.C. over the people previously called Græci and afterwards Hellenes, who then instituted the Pan-Hellenic games.[5]

From all this we may be quite sure that the Pelas-

[1] Strabo, p. 328. Sophocl. *Trachin.* 1167, where Σελλοί is also read side by side with Ἑλλοί. In the Rhetra of Lycurgus σελλάνιος and σελλανία are read.

[2] *Meteorol.* 1, 14; *Etym. Magn.* Σελλοί; *Schol. Il.* 16, 234.

[3] *Odyss.* 11, 496; *Il.* 2, 683.

[4] Dicæarch. *Fragm.* 61 M. Neither Phthia nor Hellas was a town, as later writers believe; cf. Steph. B., Φθία.

[5] Marmor Par. *Ep.* 6.

gians, Achæans, and Hellenes were not three distinct races, but that these names rather indicate three distinct periods of Greek history, and denote three stages arising out of, and following one another, in the development of the one Greek people.

The earliest division of the Greek tribes on the peninsula occupied by them which can be proved from Greek tradition and from historical knowledge is as follows:—To the west of the central chain, which, under the names of Boion and Pindus, runs down to Parnassus and divides the peninsula in two halves; south of the mouth of the Aous, which falls into the Adriatic, and of the Ceraunian Mountains, in the valley of the Aous, which takes a north-westerly course; south also of the Thyamis, which, running west, falls into the sea opposite the island of Corcyra, and of the Arachthus and Achelous, which, after a south-westerly course, fall parallel to each other in the Adriatic—dwelt the tribes of the Chaonii, Thesprotii, and Molossi. The Chaonians occupied the coast from the Ceraunian Mountains to Thyamis. The region containing the common source of the four rivers on the western declivity of the central chain, the fruitful and well-watered basin of the Lake Pambotis (now the Lake of Janina), belonged to the Thesprotians.[1] To the south, the valley in which this lake is situated is shut in by the isolated range of the Tomarus, rising to the height of 6000 feet. On the eastern side of these wooded heights, towards the Arachthus,[2] in the land of the Thesprotians, on a steep ridge, as Æschylus says,[3] was that settlement of the Pelasgians, *i.e.* of the Thesprotians, in the earliest

[1] Herod. 2, 56.
[2] Bursian, *Sitzungsberichte Munchener Acad.* 1878, p. 2 ff.
[3] *Prometheus*, 830.

times—the holy place Dodona, the most ancient oracle of the Greeks, and of old, the only oracle, as Herodotus says. "Hellopia is full of fair towns and pastures," we read in the *Eoæ*, "rich in herds of small cattle and oxen with rolling gait; here dwell men rich in sheep and oxen—many, innumerable, races of mortal men. There at the outlying limit Dodona is founded, which Zeus loved and decreed for his oracle, to be honoured by men. Here from the trunk of the oak the prophecies are imparted to all dwellers on the earth. Whoever goes thither to inquire of the immortal god, let him approach bearing gifts and with auspicious flights of birds."[1] To the south of the Ambracian Gulf, in the lower valley of the Achelous, which falls into the Adriatic just clear of the estuary of the Corinthian Gulf, their settlement extending from the right bank of the Achelous to the sea coast, we find the Acarnanians; in the wild mountain country on the left bank, the Ætolians. The Acarnanians are said to have been descended from Acarnan, whom Alcmæon the son of Amphiaraus begot in marriage with Calirrhoe, daughter of the river Achelous;[2] the Ætolians from Ætolus, son of Endymion. None ever conquered them in their mountains;[3] they were zealous hunters and therefore zealous worshippers of Artemis; they traced their descent from her favourite. From Ætolus the son of Endymion and the nymph Iphianassa came Pleuron and Calydon (on the Euenus), *i.e.*

[1] Hesiod, *Fragm.* 51 Lehrs. 80 Gottling.

[2] Ephori *Fragm.* 27 M. When Aristotle (in Strab. pp. 321, 322) calls the Locrians Leleges (those of Opus as well as the Ozolian Locrians), and represents Leleges as also dwelling in Acarnania, these are not Carian Leleges, but the λεκτοί ἐκ γαίης ἄλεοι, whom Zeus gave to Deucalion (Hesiod in Strab. p. 322), who, according to Pindar, had his first dwelling in Opus (*Olymp.* 9, 70).

[3] Ephorus in Strab. p. 463.

the two principal and contiguous cities of the Ætolians.[1] The legend of the Ætolians told of King Oeneus, of Calydon and his strong sons Tydeus and Meleager, of the hunt of the Calydonian boar which Artemis had sent into the land because Oeneus had forgotten to sacrifice to her, which Atalanta, the companion of Artemis, had first wounded, and Meleager with his lance had slain; while Meleager subsequently found an early and glorious death in battle with the Curetes for the salvation of Calydon.[2]

On the eastern declivity of the central chain running through the peninsula, where it bears the name of Mount Boion, and where the Haliacmon has its rise, which, after many windings towards the south, falls into the Ægean Sea, dwelt the Orestæ, *i.e.* the mountain folk, whose chief city was called Argos; to the south of them were the Elimiotes, from the northern slopes of Olympus to the right bank of the upper Haliacmon, in the country called, after this tribe, Elimiotis. Like the Orestæ, they found grazing on the mountain pastures for their herds of horses, cattle, and goats. Hecatæus calls the Orestæ a tribe of the Molossi;[3] Strabo describes the Orestæ and Elimiotes as Epirotes.[4] The Orestæ and Elimiotes are the fathers of the Macedonian race. The *Eoæ* relate that "Zeus married Thyia the daughter of Deucalion. She bore to the god, the lover of lightning, two sons, Magnes and Macedon, rejoicing in horses, who had their dwelling about Pieria and Olympus." Herodotus represents the Dorians themselves as a Macedonian race

[1] Strabo, p. 357; Apollodor. 1, 7, 6.
[2] *Iliad*, 9, 529 ff.
[3] Hecatæus in Steph. B., 'Ορέσται; Strabo, p. 326.
[4] P. 434.

dwelling on Mount Pindus.[1] East of the Elimiotes, on the north-east slope of Olympus, as far as the chain of Pierus, were the Pierians; on the southern slope of Olympus the Perrhæbians. There, according to the traditions of the Greeks, among the Pierians at the foot of the mountain of the gods, were sung to the gods hymns of magic power, by the most ancient of singers, Orpheus.[2]

On the rocky mountains, Pelion and Ossa, which join Olympus at the point where it reaches the Ægean, and shut in the basin of the Peneus from the sea, the Magnetes fed their flocks. In the north-west corner of this basin, where Olympus branches off from Pindus

[1] Hesiod, *Fragm.* 16 Lehrs, *supra*, p. 21. The idea of the non-Greek origin of the Macedonians, since Abel's investigations (*Maked.* p. 115 ff) and Droysen's *Hellenismus* (1, 69 N), has become untenable, and has been abandoned. The interruption of the connection with the other Greek races has allowed certain ancient forms, mostly akin to the Dorian dialect, to remain in the Macedonian speech.

[2] That the ancient Pierians were not Thracians but Greeks, I, at any rate, have no doubt. A worship of the muses and names of places and myths, the same as those on Mount Helicon, are found in Pieria (Muller, *Orchomenus*, pp. 379-390). I attach no importance to the assertion that Orpheus, the supposed Thracian, whose grave was shown at Dion on Mount Olympus in Pieria (Paus. 9, 3, 9), sang, according to Iamblichus (*Vita Pythag.* 34), in the Dorian, *i.e.* in the northern dialect. I merely conclude from this that the Orphics of the sixth century supposed that Orpheus made his poems in the Dorian dialect, and thought that they must therefore use this dialect. Androtion is quite right when he observes that Orpheus would not have been a wise man if he had been a Thracian (*Fragm.* 36). The Thracian origin of Orpheus, and the notion of Pieria being Thracian, are merely founded upon the fact that the neighbouring Thracian Pæonians took possession of Pieria (Strabo, p. 410, 331; cf. Herod. 7, 20). After the time of Perdiccas, *i.e.* after the founding of Lower Macedonia, these Pæonians were again driven out, and established themselves on the other side of the Strymon under Mount Pangæum (Herod. 7, 112; Thucyd. 2, 99). If it was doubtful among the Greeks of the fifth century whether King Alexander was a Hellene or not, the original nationality of the Pierians might well have been entirely forgotten at an earlier period. Nor do I allow myself to be persuaded by Strabo (p. 321) that Eumolpus was a Thracian; nor that the muses and

to stretch down to the sea, at the source of the Peneus, dwelt the Dorians and the Hestiæans; lower down, where the Peneus receives its affluent, from the south, about Cierium dwelt the Arnæans; on the middle course of the Peneus, in the fruitful basins of Lake Nessonis and Lake Bœbeis, was the race to which the name of Pelasgi afterwards clung; on the lower Peneus, above the place where the river breaks through the vale of Tempe to the sea, were the Lapithæ, whose forefathers were the children of Lapithean Apollo by the daughter of the river Peneus.[1] On the mountain chain which, stretching eastward from Olympus, shuts in the basin of the Peneus to the south, on the heights of Othrys, dwelt, nearest to Pindus, the Dolopes and the Ænians, farther to the east the Phthiotes.

Southward from Mount Othrys, between Mount Othrys and Mount Oeta, in the valley of the Spercheus, were the Malii; south of Oeta, on the channel which divides the island of Eubœa from the mainland, on the mountains of Cnemis and Phrikion, were the Locrians, among whom the old legend of Deucalion, the first mortal son of the gods and of the earth, who had brought fire to men and had taught the use of sacrifice, was preserved. West of the Locrians, in the upper part of the depression between Mount Oeta and Mount

Dionysus were of Thracian origin. That good wine was grown at Ismarus does not make Dionysus a Thracian; he was, on the contrary, a peculiarly Greek god. What is not Greek in him was brought from Egypt, not from Thrace, and was worked up by the Orphics. How could the beginnings of their song and praises to their gods have come to the Greeks from a people who served other gods, and were, besides, a very barbarous people? That they should have received the beginnings of their culture from an uncultured community is as incredible as it is impossible.

[1] Diodor. 4, 69; Strabo, pp. 440, 441.

Parnassus, dwelt the Dryopes; and the broad mountain group of Parnassus to the shore of the Gulf of Corinth was occupied by the Phocians.

The tribes which had settled in the hills and depressions around the Copaic Lake, in the Attic peninsula, in the isthmus, and the whole of the north coast of Peloponnesus, formed a group more closely related to each other than those just enumerated; over and above their local names a collective name, that of the Ionians, belonged to them. On the island of Eubœa, which here stretches itself in considerable length opposite the east coast of the peninsula, were the Abantes; on the mainland, to the north of the Copaic Lake, the Minyæ; to the south of it, as far as Mount Cithæron, the Aonians and Hyantes;[1] southward from Cithæron to the promontory of Sunium the Cranai.[2] To the west of the isthmus, in Peloponnesus, were the Ægialieis, *i.e.* the strand people, on the shore of the Corinthian Gulf;[3] for their kindred tribes, settled to the eastward on the northern coast of Peloponnesus, no special local name has been handed

[1] The Ionian derivation of these races I infer from the statement of Herodotus that Cadmus and his followers dwelt among Ionians (5, 58); that Minyans came with the Ionians to Asia Minor (1, 146); and that Eubœa belonged to the Ionian race of the Abantes (*infra*, Book 3, ch. 8). According to Hellanicus (*Fragm.* 8 M), Bœotia was once called Aonia, from the Aonians (cf. Steph. B., Ἄονες). Pindar says there was a time when the Bœotian people were called ὕες (in Strabo, p. 321). In Pausanias the Aonians were conquered by the Phœnicians, and the Hyantes vanished out of the land before the Phœnicians (9, 5, 1). The name of Hyantes underlies that of King Hyanthidas, who ruled at Corinth with Doridas when Aletes was lord of Corinth. Hynathidas represented the Ionic population of Corinth (Pausan. 2, 4, 3). The Aonian plain lay northward from Thebes (Strabo, p. 412). Moreover, the founding of Hyampolis in Phocis is attributed to the Hyantes (Eustath. *ad Il.* 2, 521). Concerning the Ionic character of the ancient population of Southern Bœotia, cf. Bergk. *Griech. Lt. Gesch.* p. 915.

[2] Herod. 8, 44.

[3] Herod. 7, 94.

down by tradition. Along the east coast southward from the Bay of Argos, were the Cynurians, who are also assigned by Herodotus to the Ionian race.[1] The islands opposite the entrance to the Gulf of Corinth—Zacynthus, Cephallenia, Ithaca—were likewise occupied by Ionians, manifestly from the north-west coast of Peloponnesus, which they inhabited. The sea which surrounded these islands is called by our most ancient authorities the Sea of the Ionians.[2]

On the isthmus, in the peninsula of Argolis, and probably also in Eubœa, the immigrant Greeks encountered Carian settlers. One of the two fortresses of Megara retained the name of Caria, and Aristotle tells us that the Carians in ancient times had possession of Epidaurus and Hermione.[3] On the west coast of Peloponnesus, south of the Ægialieis, dwelt the Epeans, in the fruitful delta of the Peneus; on the lower Alpheus, which, like the Peneus, flows from the Arcadian mountains into the Ionian Sea, were the Pisatæ; south of the Alpheus, on the coast, the Caucones; east of them, in the mountains on the edge of the Arcadian highlands, the Paroreatæ; lastly, on the south-west promontories of Peloponnesus, the Pylians. In the Homeric hymns the domain of the Epeans extends to the Alpheus, on which the Pylians and Epeans fought severe battles with each other.[4]

[1] Herod. 8, 73.

[2] Hecatæi *Fragm.* 59, 60 M; Æschyl. *Prom.* 840; Herod. 7, 20; Strabo, p. 316.

[3] In Strab. p. 374, and, with regard to Eubœa, p. 447, the legend of Megara mentioned Car, son of Phoroneus, among the kings, and the Leleges—that is, the Carians—as the earlier inhabitants (Pausan. 1, 39, 6; 1, 40, 6; and 7, 2, 4). On the population of the isthmus, cf. Book 2, ch. 3.

[4] *Il.* 11, 671 ff; 2, 591 ff. *Odyss.* 13, 275; 15, 298. Strabo, pp. 341, 357, 459.

In the valley of the Eurotas dwelt the tribes by which afterwards the name of Achæans was specially retained; round the Gulf of Argos were the Danai; on the high land which forms the centre of the Peloponnesus the tribes of the Arcadians pastured their herds.

CHAPTER III.

THE MONUMENTS OF ANTIQUITY.

The Greeks were late in arriving at the use of writing; their first attempts were mere catalogues of the succession of their kings and priests; it was very long before they attained to writing history. Their lively fancy, their eager glance—directed to the world of spirits by which they believed they were everywhere surrounded, to the sky, and to all extraordinary and wonderful things—early caused hymns, the invocation and praise of the gods, and subsequently heroic songs, to flourish among them; but at the same time diminished their taste for the recollection and mere preservation of the events of their own life. The excessive activity of the imagination, the overpowering life of feeling, made it very difficult for the prosaic aspect of the destinies and fortunes of states to assert itself, as against the charm of a matchless poetry; only after a long period did realism succeed in obtaining a hearing in opposition to poetry. Thus it happened that the Greeks in the earliest times could only relate mythical stories about their country and their life, the confused and confusing abundance of which, in itself sufficiently delightful and astonishing, scarcely affords here and there a slight point of contact with historical enquiry. That which was impossible to the Greeks

in their first beginnings, for which in their later stages they still were deficient in inclination and means, and which was always foreign to their genius, might have been supplied by nations of more ancient culture, had any such been in a position to observe the earlier stages of Greek life. There was a nation of ancient culture which early came into connection with the Greeks, and might have given an account of their youth; but no such account has been left by them—the nation of the Phœnicians. We have only received indirect evidence of the acquaintance of the Phœnicians with the Greeks through the Hebrews, in the table of nations in the book of Genesis. This table mentions among the sons of Japhet the representative of the northern nations, Javan and his sons: Elishah, Tarsis, Chittim, Rodanim. Javan is the Ionian, Rodanim the island of Rhodes; Tarsis signifies Tartessus, the region round the mouth of the Guadalquivir; Chittim is primarily the island of Cyprus, but the name was afterwards used in a more extended sense for all the islands of the Mediterranean;[1] Elishah may mean the north-western part of the Peloponnesus, the mouths of the Peneus and Alpheus—Elis (*Fâλις* in the more ancient Greek inscriptions), but it may also mean the coast region in a more general sense. Ezekiel speaks of blue and red purple coming from Elishah to Tyre;[2] the shore of the Peloponnesus was rich in purple shell-fish. This is the oldest testimony not of Greek origin about the Greeks. The date of it cannot be precisely fixed; we can only say that it must have been written either about the middle of the eleventh or before the middle of the tenth

[1] *History of Antiquity*, 2, 77; Gen. ii. 10; Isaiah xxiii. 1, 12; Ezek. xxvii. 6; Dan. xi. 30. [2] Ezek. xxvii. 7 [from the isles of Elishah].

century.[1] In any case, in accordance with this statement, about the year 1000 B.C., the Ionian race, having its seat on a part of the Mediterranean shore lying north from Syria, became known, not only to the Phœnicians, but through them to the inhabitants of the interior of Syria; which at any rate goes to prove that the Phœnicians chiefly came in *contact with the Ionian race, that allied group of* Greek population (p. 31) which settled to the northeast and south of the isthmus—a conclusion which will be shown to be a fact later on. The Phœnicians transferred this tribal name to the whole of the inhabitants of the peninsula; otherwise it would be inexplicable how the Hebrews came to represent the "Ionian" as the progenitor of all the dwellers on the islands and on the northern coasts of the Mediterranean.[2]

[1] *History of Antiquity*, vol. 1, 385; vol. 2, 77.

[2] Of the supposed very ancient evidence concerning the Greeks on the monuments of the Pharaohs, the Uinin of the lists of the third Tuthmosis and first Sethos (= Ionians) have luckily disappeared since Brugsch has established the meaning of Uinin = Islands: from the Shairdana, Sakalsha, Turisha, Zakkar, Akaiwasha, and Leku of Menephtah, about 1320 B.C., and the Shairdana, Zakkar, Turisha, and Sakalsha, the Danau and Pulishta of the third Ramses, we have unfortunately not freed ourselves, though I have already expressed the most confident hope (*Hist. Ant.* 1, 163, N) that "the circumcised Akaiwasha, Turisha, and Sakalsha would now no longer be referred to the Achæans, Tusci, and Siculi;" the Shairdana and Zakkar, however, might possibly be found in the Libyan Chartani and Zygritæ of Ptolemy. Notwithstanding this, the Danau of the third Ramses have become Danai, and the Pulishta of the same Ramses Pelasgians. I content myself in reply with transcribing the words of Brugsch: "To identify these circumcised tribes (as some have done) with the Achæans, Sardinians, Siculi, Etruscans, Teucrians, Lycians (Leku), and Oscans of classical antiquity (Uashash: an extension due to Chabas) is to introduce a serious error into the primitive history of the classic nations" (*History of Egypt*, ii. 124). *To this I must add that Brugsch reads Purosatha for Pulishta,* and that I am as little able to follow him as others when he interprets the Akaiwasha in reference to Achæans in the Caucasus, the Turisha to Taurians, and the Leku to Ligyans.

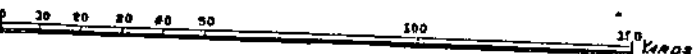
If the abundant legends of the Greeks leave us in ignorance as to the early stages of their development, if nations of more ancient culture have only left us this meagre information, perhaps the earliest monuments which are to be found on the soil of the peninsula may help to throw some light on their lives and doings in antiquity. There are buildings which are sharply distinguished in their form and construction from those in use in historical times, as to the origin of which the tradition of the Greeks knows nothing; and where it pretends to know speaks manifestly from conjecture, even when it is not entirely silent.

On the eastern side of the plain, which extends round the bay of Argos, there rises near the sea a rocky height, not more, indeed, than 50 feet high, but steep and detached on every side, perhaps 900 feet long and 300 broad; it afforded a suitable spot for a defensive fortress on the sea, to guard against hostile landings and to dominate the plain. Round the edge of the rock, interrupted by apertures for gates, there runs a wall of immense thickness; unhewn blocks of stone of huge dimensions are placed in rows over one another. "Of the city of Tiryns," says Pausanias, "the walls alone remain. This is a work of the Cyclopes, of rough stones, each stone so large that a team of mules could not move it from the spot. Between them smaller stones are introduced to connect the larger together." This was the "well-built fortress" of Tiryns, as it is called in the Hesiodic poems; the "Cyclopean gates" of which Pindar sings.[1] The description of Pausanias is applicable even at this day. The wall is now of unequal height, but from the fallen blocks we may conclude that it

[1] *Scut. Hercul.* 81; Pind. *Fragm.* 151 Bœckh.; Pausan. 2, 25, 8.

was not low. At the south-eastern side there lie in the outer circumference two long and narrow passages. They are left in the middle of the wall, and are so contrived that of the four layers of great blocks placed over each other, which enclose the passages on both sides, each projects beyond the one beneath it, and the two uppermost layers meeting form the roof. The outer of these passages has six large apertures towards the sea and reaching to the rocky floor: these apertures, like the passages themselves, are closed at the top by blocks projecting over one another in the form of rude pointed arches.

Ten miles inland, where the mountains to the north of Tiryns sink into the plain, on the height of Treton, which descends in gradual terraces, are imposing architectural remains, partly resembling the walls of Tiryns, and partly giving evidence of a style much further advanced, or else of much more careful workmanship. These are the walls of Mycenæ. Round the edge of a height considerably overtopping the level of the ridge are the ruins of an enclosure, which, like the fortress of Tiryns, was formed of rough blocks of stone, some of them colossal. The broader ridge surrounding this summit is enclosed by a wall of another kind, which is built of great blocks hewn smoothly into polygons or squares and well fitted into each other. The wall of this lower fortress, which shut in the smaller one on the summit, is even now of considerable height, and still follows the triangular outline of the mountain ridge in all its windings and projections. In the longer side of the wall, which runs in a tolerably straight line and shuts off the ridge to the east, a gateway opens between two portions of masonry, and its lintel supports a three-cornered block



Enlarged from Col. Leake's Plan.

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of stone. In the north-west line of wall the stones are hewn in a rectangular shape, and fitted evenly to each other in a horizontal position. Here, between two receding arms of the wall (the west arm is the foundation of a tower), which form an alley of perhaps 20 feet broad, is the principal gate of the fortress. The square stone masonry, which closes the alley and unites the two arms of the wall, leaves an opening underneath, which is formed by three huge blocks of stone. Those which constitute the side posts of the gateway are about 15 feet high, and support the lintel, which is also 15 feet in breadth, and, somewhat raised in the centre of the gate, 5 feet in height. Above this lintel the blocks of the foremost layers are cut back; and those next in order are sloped away in order to form a triangular niche at this point, which contains sculpture. On a slab supported by two projecting stones there rises the shaft of a column, increasing upwards, surmounted by a capital formed of two slabs, and between these are four circular mouldings. At both sides of the shaft two lionesses stand upright; their hinder paws rest on the lintel of the door; their front paws are raised to the socle of the shaft; their heads are turned forward, not quite attaining the height of the capitals. The height of the animals themselves is over 8 feet; their forms are free and spirited, and in the main correct, but treated in a weak and pretentious manner.

Immediately behind this gate lies a circular stone ring about the height of a parapet; inside of this stood or lay a number of slabs, with reliefs, about 5 feet high. On the four best preserved of these are sculptured in low relief charioteers with horses rushing forward, with their tails raised; on one is a chariot

of four horses; on two others, of two horses (only the nearer horse is clear). Under one of these teams there is a man lying on the ground; before the other stands or runs a man with a sword in his hand; above or beneath this sculpture are ornaments of wavy lines, mostly spiral, and sometimes very artistically composed. *Within the circular ring of wall, and under* the slabs with reliefs, from 20 to 35 feet below the present surface, are six sepulchres, some hewn in the rock, some in places where there was only earth, built up with stones: four are about 20 feet long and 10 broad; two of smaller dimensions; in each were the remains of more than one corpse, both men and women, laid on pebbles. To make these graves, shafts must have been sunk, which, after the burial of the bodies, were filled up; and the excavation and filling of these shafts must have been repeated when more corpses were added to the first. The position of the grave and of the shaft was shown by the stone placed above. With the corpses were found vessels of pottery, alabaster, and gold; ornaments of copper, silver, gold, and ivory, of glass-flux and rock crystal; amber beads in hundreds; weapons and helmets. The earthen vessels show, some a greater, some a less degree, of skilled art; the better kind are glazed, and adorned with figures of beasts, creeping and running. The gold vessels, goblets, and cups, as also the gold trinkets, are very numerous, and some of them display very pleasing ornamentation.[1] *The weapons in the graves, even the sword-blades,* are all of bronze. Iron is not found. The points of the arrows are of obsidian. On the gold ornaments—*consisting of fillets, bracelets, girdles, round plates,*

[1] Schliemann, *Mykenæ*, pp. 231 ff. 248.

and rings—we see in some instances very rich decorations, moulded or beaten out with the hammer; and also figures of men and animals, sometimes large, sometimes of very small dimensions; lions pursuing a deer;[1] a man plunging his sword into a lion's mouth; a charioteer and an archer on a chariot drawn by galloping horses, following the stag; two warriors, one well armed, and one unarmed, contending with each other with the sword.[2] The men are tall and slender in shape. On the breasts of the skeletons were found gold plates;[3] and on six of the bodies masks worked in solid gold, well and richly moulded, and with pronounced features; one of them has a strong moustache. In the ruins of the shaft above the sepulchres, and also in the sepulchres themselves, lay rude idols of red clay, and most primitive in form; some of them resemble the type of the Phœnician images of Ashera. It appears still more clearly that they have to do with the Syrian goddess, from two figures, each with a dove sitting on its head.[4] As these idols indicate the kind of ornamentation on the vessels and jewels, so the pictures which adorn these vessels—palm-leaves, and palms, antelopes, leopards, and innumerable lions—point to the countries of the East from which these conceptions must have been borrowed.

Larger and more magnificent graves than these, and differently formed, are situated behind the gate of lions on the terraces beneath the citadel. There are six, built after the same pattern. Regular layers of square hewn stones rise in a circle above each

[1] Schliemann, *loc. cit.* pp. 309.
[2] Schliemann, *loc. cit.* p. 174.
[3] Schliemann, *loc. cit.* pp. 165 ff. 228, 219, 221.
[4] Schliemann, *loc. cit.* p. 180; *History of Antiquity*, vol. 1, 366.

other, the upper layers gradually drawing nearer and nearer one another until the vault is closed over the centre of the circle. When the building was finished and the vault closed, it was covered with earth quite over the summit. The grave next the citadel of Mycenæ, on the left of the road to the gate of lions, has given way; the upper layers of stone lie on the *floor of the building; earth has fallen over them*, and the interior is filled with rubbish. Site and form, however, remain clearly discernible. Farther down, also to the left of the road leading up to the citadel, at the foot of the height on which the citadel is situated, there is a passage about 20 feet wide and 120 feet long, carefully built up on both sides with evenly-hewn blocks of stone, in layers of equal height, leading to the interior of the high ridge, which has here fallen down towards the east; the masonry which leans upon the edges of the cutting rises with the profile of the height, into the interior of which this road forms the entrance, in regular gradations on both sides. One opening for a doorway, of considerable height, built of hewn stone, the sides of which almost imperceptibly narrow towards the top, gives admission; on each side of the opening are two half columns, with capitals like that of the shaft of the pillar between the two lions at the gate; over the lintel, and to take off the weight from it, the foremost layers of blocks are cut away, as over the gate of lions. This doorway leads into a short narrow gallery, out of which we come into a great round vault, the diameter of which on the ground is nearly 50 feet, and the cupola of which closes 50 feet above the base. The blocks are regularly hewn and for the most part oblong; their layers, as they ascend, approach nearer and nearer

the apex of the vault, until at the top a single stone finishes the concentric stone rings of the cone-shaped building. The entrance from the gallery is covered by a very solid stone rafter, which fits exactly on the inside to the rounding of the vault; it is about the ninth layer of blocks, and fully 15 feet above the ground; to relieve the weight on the lintel the masonry over it terminates in a sharp triangle. In the blocks of the vault are found auger holes; on the floor broad-headed nails are to be met with. From this it has been inferred that the vault to a certain height was covered with bronze plates. A second and much lower door, the lintel of which is formed by a stone rafter lying on the fourth layer of blocks and relieved in the same manner, leads into a square chamber hewn in the rock, 27 feet long, 20 feet broad, and 19 feet high;[1] this was evidently intended for the reception of bodies. Four buildings of the same construction, but of considerably smaller dimensions, are to be found not far off on the same terrace, under the citadel of Mycenæ. These were held by the Greeks of a later time to be the treasure-houses and graves of the Atridæ. Pausanias at any rate says: "In the ruins of Mycenæ are situated the subterranean chambers of Atreus and his sons, where lay their treasures and possessions; here also is the grave of Atreus and of those whom Ægisthus slew with Agamemnon at the feast. Also the burial-place of Agamemnon and Electra is here. But Ægisthus and Clytemnestra are buried somewhat farther from the walls. They were not allowed to rest inside the wall in the place where Agamemnon lay and those who were slain with him."[2]

A league south of Mycenæ on the road to Argos,

[1] Schliemann, *Mykenæ*, pp. 42 ff. [2] Pausan. 2, 16, 6, 7.

on the southern declivity of Mount Eubœa—*i.e.* good pasture of cattle—lay an ancient temple of Hera. On this declivity, before the highroad to Mycenæ reaches the temple, there is a conical hill or mound enclosing a sepulchre which differs from the great sepulchre at Mycenæ in having no separate burial-chambers besides the round building. Here also there is a passage about 25 feet long, built at first of unhewn, and subsequently of hewn, blocks, closed at each side but open at the top, leading to a stately doorway, 15 feet high, built of great square stones, and covered by a stone beam. This doorway leads into a narrow gallery, and from this gallery there is access to the round vaulted chamber, the upper circles of which have fallen in. The diameter of the building extends at the base to more than 30 feet; the circles are of hewn but unpolished stones. The floor is formed of little stones united together with yellow clay. When discovered the surface was covered with numerous bones, gold leaves, remains of gold neck-chains, ornaments of cobalt glass, pieces of ivory, remains of brass vessels ornamented with taste and skill, and bits of pottery, and boars' teeth.[1]

To the south of Tiryns, close to the sea, upon a rocky peninsula, in which the hilly range shutting off the plain of Argos here comes to an end, lay Nauplia; in the precipitous mountain close to it, now called Palamidi, five or six graves were found hewn sideways in the rock, with flat raised roofs: the work displays little care, and the outlines are not quite regular. Here again a short and narrow passage (the cliff descends somewhat steeply) leads to each chamber. But a few

[1] *Σταματάκης περὶ τοῦ παρὰ τὸ Ἡραῖον καθαρισθέντος τάφου. Arch. Inst.* 3, 271.

ornaments of gold, amber, and glass, with earthen vessels, some coarse, some fine, were found in these graves.[1] By the Cyclopean works, the caves and the labyrinth which Strabo mentions at Nauplia,[2] we must doubtless understand these burial-chambers. Besides the graves of Mycenæ, the Heræum, and these chambers at Nauplia, only one more vaulted grave has been discovered in the Peloponnesus, and that is in the valley of the Eurotas, near Pharis, the ancient Achæan town, four miles and a half south of Sparta; but the upper part is so ruined and destroyed, and the under so choked with rubbish, that the construction is hardly discernible.[3]

On Mount Hymettus in Attica, near the village of Spata, a shaft leads to three burial-chambers with horizontal roofs hewn deep in the rock; in these a great number of ornaments and images in glass and ivory were found: the ornamentation, as well as the subjects represented—winged fabulous animals, among them female sphinxes; battles between animals, lions and antelopes[4]—indicate, even more clearly than the articles found at Mycenæ behind the gate of lions, Babylonian and also Egyptian models. To the north of Hymettus, where the heights of Ægaleus unite with those of Parnes, near the modern village of Menidi, lies on a gentle slope a vaulted grave. A passage 30 paces long and 10 feet broad, of roughly-hewn, and at the top irregular stones, leads first into a narrower gallery, and this again into the round building, which is 27 feet in diameter and 30 feet high. The limestone of the layers is neither even

[1] *Mittheil. des Archæolog. Instituts*, 1880, p. 143 ff.
[2] Strabo, p. 369. [3] Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 384.
[4] Ἀθηναῖον ζ ν΄.

nor polished on the interior; towards the top the layers are always placed irregularly, but the interspaces are filled with small stones, with the greatest possible care. The relief of the massive stone beams of the doors is accomplished partly by the filling up of each triangle above the lintel with smaller masonry and partly by four horizontal spaces, one above the other, of about the breadth of the lintel in every other layer. Lance and arrow heads, ornaments in gold and silver, gold leaves, silver bracelets, beads of glass and amber, glass-flux, but especially ivory plates, were found in the interior, together with remains of five or six skeletons and broken earthen vessels (amphoræ of light red clay, long and running to a point at the bottom, with a double handle). The ornamentation consists of animal forms in the Babylonian style, lions and antelopes; beasts like antelopes, with long horns winding downwards, are cut in long rows on ivory tablets placed together; long-legged winged sphinxes, with human heads and flat head-dress, with two or three signet stones, of the Babylonish kind, were also found here.[1]

In Thessaly there are at Pharsalus, within the enclosure of the Acropolis, ruins of a magnificent building of this description. At the ancient Orchomenus, in Bœotia, there are a few but imposing remains of a great circular grave. It was built outside the city wall of Orchomenus, on the slope of the long narrow mountain, Mount Acontion, on which the city stands. The lower part is now covered with earth; only three rows of door-posts, covered with a massive frieze, which is nearly 20 feet long, are visible. Judging

[1] The vaulted grave at Menidi; from the *Deutschen Arch. Institut*, 1880.

from these remains, the circular building at Orchomenus seems to have surpassed the great vault at Mycenæ. Near it there has quite recently been discovered a burial-chamber which undoubtedly belonged to the other building. The marble reliefs found in this building resemble in style the sculptured slabs on the graves behind the gate of lions at Mycenæ, but excel them in execution.[1] The building was standing in Pausanias' time, and was said by the Greeks to have been the treasure-house of Minyas, the ancient King of Orchomenus. "It is an astonishing work among the works of the Hellenes," says Pausanias, "and is inferior to no other which exists elsewhere. It is built of stone, and of a circular shape, so that the apex does not run to a point; the topmost stone is said to preserve the balance of the structure. But the Greeks are famous for admiring works found beyond the boundaries of their country more than their own, so that the most celebrated historians have been careful to describe the pyramids of Egypt most minutely, while the treasure-house of Minyas and the walls of Tiryns are passed over without even a brief mention, though not less worthy of admiration."[2]

All the vaulted sepulchres are of the same construction. They are all cut from the actual level through the rock into the sides of hills in order to give support to the building in one direction at least, and to lessen the pressure of the earth that is heaped upon the masonry; entrance passages are found in all cases, and the relief of the lintels is everywhere effected by leaving out blocks. That the sepulchres were de-

[1] Further particulars about them are not as yet known. [A full account of the exploration of Orchomenus by Schliemann is given in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. 2, p. 122 ff.]

[2] Pausan. 9, 36, 5; 9, 38, 2.

signed for more than one corpse is shown by the numerous skeletons in the building at Menidi and the objects of very different periods found in the layers of earth. They were clearly the burying-places of families: the round vault was no doubt designed for the presentation of offerings to the dead, the neighbouring chambers for the bodies. That the vaults at the *Heræum and Menidi must be more ancient* than the larger and better circular sepulchres at Mycenæ and Orchomenus can scarcely be maintained with certainty from their inferior magnificence and solidity. The degree of technical progress cannot be relied on as an infallible criterion, because it is as common for less abundant means to produce less finished work as for greater perfection to follow imperfection.

But are these buildings *really of Greek origin?* May they not perhaps be ascribed to an alien population established before the Greeks, or beside them, on the peninsula? Were the tribes of the Greeks, considering the culture they brought with them thither, and the amount of which has already been shown, in a condition to erect buildings of this kind? The second question must be answered unconditionally in the negative, and the first, notwithstanding this, in the affirmative. The Arian races are differently constituted from the Egyptians and the Semites of Babylon and Assyria; their general character and the greater prominence among them of the individual in the conduct of life *unfitted them for undertaking laborious* architectural works; and no branch of this family of nations—even where great centres of power, such as were wanting to the Greeks, might have allowed of buildings of grandiose style—ever attained to such

buildings at an early period. On the other hand, we must bear well in mind that if the graves behind the gate of lions and the vaulted sepulchres of Mycenæ and Orchomenus originated with a people alien and hostile to the Greeks, whom they reduced to submission, neither the memorial stones on the graves behind the gate of lions would have been uninjured, nor would the vaulted roofs have remained perfectly upright in the time of Pausanias; still less would the domed sepulchre by the Heræum have been still in use in the fifth century before Christ.[1] The complete preservation of these buildings in historical times asserts more loudly and distinctly than the traditions that the Greeks saw in them venerable remains of their own antiquity and the works of their forefathers. Though the condition of technical skill and practice among the Greeks of early times would doubtless not allow of their planning and executing such works, they may have learned in foreign schools. Or does the kind of burial, so far as we understand it from the arrangement of these graves, and from the skeletons found in them, perhaps contradict the customs of Greek or of Arian interment?

The Arians on the Indus in ancient times buried their dead; burning is of later date; subsequently burning and burying existed side by side, until burning altogether predominated; among the Arians in Iran in different districts, sometimes burial, sometimes burning, sometimes exposure of the bodies, prevailed; among the Greeks of historical times burial

[1] This follows from the letters inscribed on a terra-cotta lid found here, unless this lid may have accidentally slipped in during some later search (Σταματάκης, *loc. cit.* p. 279).

and burning were always practised side by side. The Homeric poems show us the burning of princes, of heroes, of men of rank;[1] afterwards we find burial and burning equally in use, and then burial predominating, especially in Attica, which was in a position to maintain the customs of antiquity.[2] If in the Punjab the weapons of the dead man were taken from his hand at burial, and he was then given over to "the motherly earth, to receive him kindly," in Attica he was confided to Demeter.[3] So far as we can see from the opening of the ancient graves above mentioned, the dead whom they contained were entombed in them. In the graves behind the gate of lions at Mycenæ, one of the dead persons lay stretched upon the pebble floor, the ornaments above his head, the weapons on the left near him, the earthen vessels at his feet. The skeletons in the graves at Nauplia also lie outstretched in this manner. From this it is sufficiently clear that the dead in these graves were interred. The position of the skeletons in the vaulted tomb of Menidi is not well established. The ashes and the bones of animals near the corpses and in the earth, with which the graves at the gate of lions are bestrewed, must be derived from the offerings of the dead brought at the time of the interment.[4] This kind of burial would not be in contradiction, therefore, to the mode of interment in use among the Greeks.

Such burial requires the covering of the body with earth, which among the Greeks, even in later times, was done very sparingly, and only in cases of necessity.

[1] *Il.* 7, 104.
[2] Plato, *Phaedr.* p. 115; Thucyd. 2, 34.
[3] Cicero, *de legib.* 2, 25.
[4] Lolling. *Mittheilungen des Arch. Instituts*, 1880, p. 153.

If it is and always has been a widespread custom, corresponding with the universal feeling of mankind, to mark the resting-place of the dead by a mound; if we find numerous little hillocks thrown up mostly of loose stones, among the Greeks of historical times,[1] for the marking of graves, or else memorial stones, pillars, and flat stones, or lastly monuments in the form of a temple to wealthy and celebrated families —how did the Greeks of antiquity arrive at excavating burial-chambers in the rocks, and erecting massive burial-vaults?

Only on the side of Hellas turned towards the Ægean Sea do we find burial-places of this kind. Beyond the Ægean Sea, among the Teucrians and Lydians of the west coasts of Asia Minor, we meet with conical tumuli on graves. To the south of the Lydians, in the region at the mouth of the Cayster and Mæander dwelt the Carians. From these coasts had the "once so celebrated race of the Carians" (thus Herodotus describes them) colonised the islands of the Ægean. A narrow strip of sea divided the western Cyclades from the peninsula of the Peloponnesus, which bounded the Bay of Argos on the north, from the isthmus and from Eubœa. We saw on a previous page (32) that the Greeks found Carian settlements here. As the Greeks, according to their own account, adopted the weapons and armour of the Carians, and the Carians laid their dead in the grave with weapons;[2] as the songs and laments of the Greeks at their burials were still in the fourth century described as Carian measures;[3] as there has

[1] The antiquity of this custom is proved by Euripides, *Hercul. Furens*, 1333.
[2] Thucyd. 1, 8.
[3] Plato, *Laws*, p. 800; Pollux, 4, 75; Hesych. Καρῖναι.

been found in and upon some remains in the shaft-graves of Mycenæ the double hatchet of the Carian god Chars-El[1]—the inference is unavoidable that the Greeks borrowed from the Carians the custom of putting weapons into the graves with their dead, as we find in the graves behind the gate of lions at Mycenæ, and that they may also have adopted the Carian custom of piling conical mounds upon their graves. Mounds of this form, however, we find neither on the graves behind the gate of lions at Mycenæ nor over the sepulchral chambers at Spata, nor at the graves of Nauplia. And between the conical graves before the citadel of Mycenæ, at the Heræum, at Menidi, at Orchomenus —between these, and even the most striking of those on the west coast of Asia Minor, the mounds of the Lydian kings at Sardis, there is an important difference. At the grave of Alyattes among the Lydians there is a simple burial-chamber of square blocks surrounded and overtopped by the compact mound of earth; with the Greeks, beside the burial-chambers there are lofty round vaults of artistic construction as the centre of the cone. Such buildings could only have been erected after long practice and good instruction in architecture. If the form were indeed borrowed from the Carians, this phase and development of it rest upon other presuppositions.

The discovery of the ancient burying-places, which we have passed in review, brought to light in the vases various stages of art—primitive and handmade jars side by side with vessels of clay and metal exquisitely worked and pleasing in their ornamentation; idols of the Phœnician Ashera, the goddess of Ascalon, inter-

[1] Schliemann, *Mykenæ*, p. 111; *Hist. Ant.* 1, 573.

mingled with objects of adornment evincing the greatest progress in technical arts, works in ivory, glass, amber, ornaments and carving in a style unmistakably Babylonian and Egyptian. These burial-chambers and vaults, therefore, cannot have been built before the Phœnicians had visited the east coast of Hellas, or before the Phœnicians had come into connection with the Babylonians and Egyptians. Through whom otherwise could the amber and ostrich eggs[1] and images of Ashera in the graves at the gate of lions, the ornaments of Babylonian and Egyptian design in the graves of Spata, have come to the coasts of Hellas? We know that the Phœnicians worked according to Babylonian as well as Egyptian designs. And who could have brought to the Greeks the Egypto-Phœnician custom of covering the face of the dead with masks—and gold masks—as they are found in the graves behind the gate of lions, if not the Phœnicians? The first beginnings of intercourse between the land of the Euphrates and Tigris and the Syrian regions were before the year 2000 B.C.; those between the Phœnicians and the Egyptians date at the least from the sixteenth century before Christ onwards: the erection of Phœnician stations on the coast of Hellas must be fixed after the year 1250 and before the year 1200 B.C.[2]

The Greeks tell us that they learned the art of building walls as well as that of mining from the Phœnicians. The Phœnician graves of the most ancient form consist of shafts going perpendicularly downwards, leading to cubical chambers cut sideways from them, and having horizontal hewn roofs; graves

[1] Schliemann, *loc. cit.* pp. 203, 245. [2] *Hist. Ant.* 2, 77.

of the later form consist of chambers hewn from the side of the rocks.[1] The grave-chambers at Spata are arranged precisely in the manner of the most ancient Phœnician graves, therefore probably after a Phœnician pattern; the graves behind the gate of lions in the same way; the grave-chambers at Nauplia are made in the later Phœnician mode. Is it too bold a conjecture that the graves of Spata and Nauplia, the oldest of these burial-places, may have been made by the Phœnicians themselves, and that even in the graves behind the gate of lions, in front of the ancient circle of fortification, a Phœnician type may have been followed, and Phœnician labour may have executed the reliefs on the gravestones? Might it not have happened, after the Greek tribes on the east coast, on the Gulf of Pagasæ, in Bœotia, in Attica, on the Gulf of Argos, on the Eurotas, had been instructed by the Phœnicians, that their princes returned to the old form of sepulture—the conical mounds—in the exercise of their newly-acquired skill, formed them in a more imposing manner, so that these mounds were lined in the interior with stone, and made in the shape of round vaults? For these dome-shaped graves can only be regarded as the graves of princes. Their erection required wealth and resources which could only have been at princes' command; princes alone could undertake to raise such buildings for themselves and their families. What forces were necessary in order to place lintels of more than 2000 hundredweight over the entrances? And however primitive the manner of vaulting may appear in the dome-shaped sepulchres, it would have been impossible without technical experience, and great exactitude and care in execution,

[1] *Hist. Ant.* 2, 250.

to have raised vaultings of such a height, which, moreover, had to bear the heavy weight of the soil placed over them.

The finest of the vaulted sepulchres that has been preserved, and, except the remains at Orchomenus, the largest in its design, belongs to the same period in which the citadel of Mycenæ received its second great circular wall of hewn stones, enclosing the old citadel with the ancient graves before it, and containing the splendid gate of lions. This follows from the exact agreement of the capitals of the two half pillars by the gate of the gallery which leads into the vault of this grave—the so-called treasury of Atreus—with the capital of the shaft of the pillar between the two lions over the citadel gate (pp. 38, 39). Lions rampant, looking each other in the face, are also to be found on the ornaments of the fragments discovered of the dome-shaped grave at Menidi, and also on the ornaments of the fragments found in the graves behind the gate of lions. Also on later coins of Ialysus we find upright lions leaning on their front paws, opposite each other.[1] If we may venture on a still bolder conjecture, we may suppose that the Greek tribes, having grown strong in the school of the Phœnicians, had turned against the Carians and Phœnicians on their coasts, and tried to drive them back. If the Phœnicians possessed a permanent station in the plain of the Inachus, the citadel of Nauplia, as these grave-chambers indicate and further traces show, the ancient wall of unhewn stones round the citadel of Mycenæ, the strong wall of rough blocks surrounding the citadel of Tiryns, may have been built with a great expenditure of power, but also in haste, against the citadel of Nauplia, against hostile

[1] Luynes, *Annal. Inst. Arch.* 1842, 13, 145 ff.

landings of Carians and Phœnicians. According to Greek legend, it was the Cyclopes who piled up these walls for King Prœtus of Tiryns.[1] That their builders were no novices in this kind of building is shown by the galleries (p. 38) in the walls of Tiryns. The Phœnicians were in fact, as will be seen later on, driven from the coasts of Hellas, on which they had formed settlements. After this victory, in consequence of increased prosperity and sufficient leisure, the massive wall with the gate of lions and the vault on the terrace at Mycenæ, the building at Orchomenus, the vaults at Menidi, at the Heræum, at Pharis, and Pharsalus, may then have been erected.

If Thucydides thinks it necessary to warn us expressly against the inference, from the narrow limits of the city of Mycenæ, "that the power of its princes had not been so great as the poets and legends maintained,"[2] the walls of the citadel and the vaulted graves rather force us to the conclusion that princes of great importance and possessed of considerable wealth and much artistic skill must once have ruled here. We are led to the same conclusion in regard to the rulers of the Minyans by the sepulchre at Orchomenus, the richness of which is as much praised in the Homeric poems as the power of the princes of Argos.[3] The Greeks of later times were, therefore, to a certain degree right[4] when they attributed the dome-shaped graves at Mycenæ to the mightiest princely family of Argos that they knew of —the Atridæ; when they called the vault at Orchomenus the treasure-house of Minyas, *i.e.* of the king who in the legend represented the race of the Minyæ,

[1] Apollod. 2, 2, 4; Pausan. 2 16, 5. [2] Thucyd. 1, 10.
[3] *Il.* 9, 381; 2, 511.
[4] Thucyd. 4, 76; Pausan. 9, 3, 4; 9, 37; Strabo, p. 414.

the kingdom of Orchomenus; when the subterranean chambers at Mycenæ were described to Pausanias as treasure-houses of Atreus and his sons, as the graves of Atreus and Agamemnon; and Ægisthus and Clytemnestra were said to have been buried in sepulchres of the same kind outside the city wall (p. 43). Only in the regions which are the seat of the tradition of the oldest and mightiest princely races, in the country of Argos, in the valley of the Eurotas, in Attica, which the Theseids united under their rule, in Orchomenus, and in Phthiotis, have such buildings been found and uncovered—at any rate, up to this time. If we were to suppose that the legends of the power of the ancient princes of this region owed their origin to these very buildings, there would be little to urge against the theory, though the legend of Argos and of Orchomenus does not refer to the erection of the dome-shaped buildings, but merely to the building of the wall of Tiryns by the Cyclopes: not only, however, in the monuments have these countries left evidence of their ancient importance behind them; the settlements which those who were driven out from Argos, from the Eurotas valley, from Thessaly, from the land of the Minyæ, from the districts of the Ionians, founded, which caused a new Hellas to arise on the islands and beyond the Ægean Sea, bear quite as strong testimony that these regions were neither thinly populated nor inhabited by people ignorant of navigation, war, and the building of walls. No doubt, in the battles and conquests which drove those populations from their old home, not only the wealth necessary for erecting great architectural buildings was lost, but also the taste for them; and the best part of the skill acquired in sculpture and architecture was forgotten.

It required much time before the powers of the cantons again arose, before the young foundations grew strong; it was necessary to apply new stimulants from the East, in order to make these two arts live again. On these new foundations they then attained with the Greeks to a different character, and to matchless perfection. Roman and Gothic architecture also had their decline, when their technical skill was lost; their monuments existed, but they were no longer understood, until, after more than three hundred years had elapsed, they were awakened to new life, if only to a revival.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PHŒNICIANS IN HELLAS.

The examination of the most ancient monuments on the soil of Hellas has afforded proof of an extensive commerce of the Phœnicians on the coasts of the country; not only the objects found within the monuments, but the monuments themselves, spoke incontestably in favour of the influence, and therefore of the presence of the Phœnicians in Greece. There are further traces, signs, and remains of Phœnician settlements on Greek soil, and of Phœnician influence on the Greeks. Greek tradition itself tells us of the city and dominion which a Phœnician king's son founded in their land. This is the only settlement of which it speaks; but we are in a position to prove that there existed a whole series of Phœnician colonies on the coast of Hellas. Special cults which are foreign to the religious notions of all the Arian races, but are evidently in harmony with those of the Phœnicians, and which we find regarded as old and traditional customs in more than one canton of Greece in historical times, lead us to the conclusion that they were brought by the Phœnicians to the coasts of Hellas, and adopted by the Greeks. No doubt, the Greeks adopted foreign elements of worship also at later dates, especially those they met with on the islands and coasts where they founded their colonies. But foreign cults derived from

the time before the Hellenes took to the sea and founded colonies could only have reached them through foreigners and from foreign countries. And as the essence of these cults is Phœnician, it could only have been Phœnicians who brought them to the Greeks. Remains of such cults are to be found on Greek soil from the promontory of Malea to the gulf of Pagasæ. They existed among the Hellenes long after the Phœnicians had left their stations on the coasts of Hellas, from which it follows that the Phœnicians must have had time to become well acquainted with the Hellenes, to grow up and strike deep roots among them.

Opposite the southern point of the Peloponnesus, Cape Malea, which itself seems to bear a Phœnician name (Malah, height), lies the island of Cythera. Here flourished the worship of the "armed Aphrodite" which, according to the tradition of the Greeks themselves, came hither from Syria—the worship of Ashera-Astarte.[1] In the valley of the Eurotas a very solemn offering to the dead was yearly brought at Amyclæ to the beautiful youth Hyacinthus, who died before his time, whom the quoit thrown by Apollo, *i.e.* the burning heat of the sun's disc, killed in the height of summer;[2] it was the death of Adonis which was here deplored. Nauplia, on the Gulf of Argos, was said to have been the abode of Palamedes,—the son of Nauplius, the most ancient navigator,—who was supposed to have discovered weights and measures, dice, draughts, astronomy, and letters.[3] On the heights of Acrocorinth maidens paid service to Aphrodite with their bodies, herein adopting a custom which belonged

[1] *Hist. Ant.* 2, 62. [2] Pausan. 3, 19, 3.
[3] Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 770 ff; Pausan. 2, 20, 3; Suidas, Παλαμήδης; Joh. Antioch. *Fragm.* 24 M.

to the goddess Ashera of the Syrians. But the goddess of Acrocorinth was at the same time an "Aphrodite in armour,"[1] *i.e.* Astarte; and to her, "the Phœnician Athena,"—Hellotis, so this goddess is called with her Phœnician name (Eloth, *i.e.* goddess)—in ancient times maidens and children were here burned. This is proved by the legend of the daughters of Creon, king of Corinth, who in the temple of this goddess spring into the fire or perish in the burning of the temple; and by the character of the feast of the Hellotia, which the Corinthians in historical times celebrated with a torch race and expiatory rites.[2] It was also a vicarious form of this sacrifice, that seven boys and girls of the noblest families—seven, *i.e.* the sacred number of the Semites—with shorn heads and attired in black, had to serve Hera Acræa on Acrocorinth with offerings of atonement and dirges, a custom which the Corinthians maintained until the destruction of the city by the Romans, and to which the legend of the murder of her children by Medea at Corinth owes its rise.[3] At the foot of the height of Acrocorinth on the isthmus, Melkarth, the god of the Phœnicians, the god of Tyre, was adored by the Greeks as protector of navigation, under his native name modified by the Greeks into Melicertes. If a dolphin draws Melicertes here to shore, the god of the Phœnicians came hither across the sea; if Melicertes is here also called Palæmon, this was an appellation of the hero Heracles into which the Greeks had changed other aspects of the Phœnician Melkarth; if the grave of Melicertes is

[1] Steph. Byz. Κόρινθος; Pausan. 2, 4, 7.
[2] *Schol.* Pind. *Olymp.* 13, 56; Eurip. *Medea*, 1377 ff.
[3] Pausan. 2, 3, 6-8; Æl. *Var. Hist.* 5, 21; *Schol.* Eurip. *Medea*, 273; Athenæus, p. 678; *Schol.* Lycophr. 658.

shown at the Palæmonium on the isthmus, we know the myth of the death and revival of Melkarth.[1] All these cults which remained here in constant use in spite of the change of population show, like the skill in working clay and bronze which the Corinthians possessed earlier than other parts of Hellas, that the isthmus must have been one of the most important and most frequented stations of the Phœnicians on the Greek coast; which is sufficiently explained by its especially favourable situation for navigation and commercial intercourse.

Farther to the north lies, in front of the isthmus, a little island called Minoa; this name repeatedly occurs in the neighbourhood of the Ægean Sea and in Sicily; it is that of the prince who is to the Greeks the representative and expression of the dominion of the Phœnicians in Crete and in the Ægean Sea. Minos, according to this, must also have ruled over Megara, which is on the isthmus, opposite the island of Minoa;[2] and the Megarians showed in the neighbourhood of their market a monument of the Amazons, *i.e.* the place where once the maidens of the war-goddess of the Syrians, Astarte, held their war-dances.[3] The name of the island of Salamis belongs to the Semitic language, and corresponds with the town of the same name in Cyprus. Being in possession of Salamis, the Phœnicians passed over to Attica, and planted themselves firmly there. Marathon, on the east coast of Attica, bears the same name as Marathus (Amrit) in Crete, and on the Phœnician coast near *Aradus; a fountain springing at Marathon is called* Macaria, "in honour of Heracles;" *i.e.* it bears the name of Melkarth, which the Greeks modified into

[1] Plut. *Sympos.* 5, 3, 2; Pausan. 2, 1, 3; 2, 2, 1.
[2] Diod. 4, 65; Plut. *Thes.* 19.
[3] Plut. *Thes.* 27.

Melicertes and Makar; the district of Marathon worshipped Heracles; indeed, it boasted that it had been the first of all the Hellenic countries to worship him.[1] Heracles is Archal, the labouring, striving, fighting Baal Melkarth of the Phœnicians. According to the list of the kings of Attica given by Hellanicus, King Actæus governed here before Cecrops; before him King Porphyrion, *i.e.* the purple man, the Phœnician; he founded a temple in the canton of Athmonon to the Syrian Aphrodite.[2] The canton of Athmonon also worshipped Artemis Amarysia, *i.e.* a goddess who was worshipped with war-dances of maidens, and to whom only unsexed animals could be offered in sacrifice.[3] She was the war-goddess of the Semites combined with the goddess of love.

The Athenians had much to say about the warlike maidens, the Amazons. They showed graves of Amazons on the road to the Piræan gate, a temple of Amazons in the city, and a monumental stone to the Amazons in the temple of Olympian Zeus on the road to Phalerum:[4] these were the places where maidens in male attire and armed had served the Syrian goddess, who is to the Greeks both the armed Aphrodite, and the warlike maiden Artemis, and the Phœnician Athena.[5] In a great battle, so runs the legend, Theseus in the city of Athens itself overcame these maidens who came from the west coast of

[1] Pausan. 1, 32, 4. [2] Pausan. 1, 14, 7.

[3] Dondorf, *Ionier*, p. 24; *Die Grenzsteine des Temenos der Artemis Amarysia*, J. A. 1 No. 526; and Lolling, *Mitth. Arch. Inst.* 1880, p. 289.

[4] Æsch. *Eumenid.* 680 *sqq.*; Plut. *Thes.* 27; Plato, *Axioch*, p. 364; Steph. Byz. Ἀμαζόνειον; Pausan. 1, 2, 1; Diodor. 4, 28.

[5] Should it be said in answer to this that there is no trace of Amazons in Phœnicia, I would refer to the goddess of Ascalon, and to Moses, Deut. xxii. 5: "The woman shall not wear man's clothes, nor the man the clothes of a woman."

Asia Minor and more distant regions still. The story of the expedition of the Amazons from Asia to Hellas could only have been invented after the Ionian settlers from the west coast of Asia Minor had found maidens established about a temple of a goddess on the Cayster, who served that goddess with war-dances (among the Lydians also we find the worship of the goddess who sometimes brought war and death, and sometimes the pleasures of love[1]), after the ships of Miletus had found on the shore of the Black Sea, beyond the Thermodon, among the Syrians of that region a similar worship, *i.e.* rather after the middle of the eighth century. Now the hero Heracles had loosed the girdle of the queen of the Amazons, *i.e.* the goddess of the Amazons, Astarte; in the mythus of the Phœnicians, Melkarth loosed her girdle; in that of the Greeks, Theseus carried off Antiope; to revenge this rape the Amazons, Hellanicus says, came over the Cimmerian Bosporus to Attica;[2] according to the older account, they came from the west of Asia Minor through Thrace, Thessaly, and Bœotia to Attica. Æschylus makes the Amazons pitch their tents on the Areopagus; from the monuments of the Amazons in Athens Clidemus described the order of battle in which they fought against Theseus. Their right wing stood over against the Pnyx, the left over against the Areopagus; the Athenians attacked them from the Museum hill, but were driven back before the women as far as the altar of the Eumenides, until at last they overcame their right wing, and by a treaty forced the Amazons to retire. The place where this treaty was confirmed was shown in Athens.[3] There were also monuments on places connected with Amazons outside of Attica.

[1] *Hist. Ant.* 1, 563. [2] *Fragm.* 84 M. [3] Plut. *Thes.* 27.

At Scotussa and Cynocephalæ in Thessaly graves of the Amazons were shown; in Eubœa, where Artemis Amarysia was zealously worshipped, there was an Amazoneum at Chalcis, and a similar one existed in Bœotia.[1] Near Trœzen, on the road from the city to the harbour, there was a temple dedicated to Ares, because here also Theseus had conquered the Amazons.[2] Lastly, we find such places in the south of the Peloponnesus, on the shore of the Laconic Gulf. Here, opposite the island of Cythera, to the north-west, on an arm of the sea running far inland to the foot of Mount Tænarum, lies the town of Pyrrhicus, which possessed two ancient wooden images of the "Amazonian Apollo" and of "Artemis Astarteia," *i.e.* of Baal Melkarth and Astarte. The sun-god of the Phœnicians is to the Greeks, in his aspect of light, Apollo; in his fighting aspect, Heracles; he is here called Amazonius, because he loosed the girdle of the queen of the Amazons, Astarte; the place itself is named, after the war-dance, the Pyrrhic: the images are said to have been set up by the Amazons.[3] In regard to these Amazonian places, the Greeks of later times entertained no doubt that the Amazons had traversed the whole peninsula from Thessaly to Mount Tænarum; the deserted shrines of the Syrian goddess showed the road that they took and the places where they had encamped; and the Athenians reckoned it among their best titles to fame that they "had con-

[1] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* [2] Pausan. 2, 32, 9.

[3] Pausan. 3, 25, 3. That *ἀστρατεία* was corrupted from *ἀσταρτεία* in the mouth of the Greeks, and not by Pausanias, appears to me beyond a doubt; *ἀστρατεία* would be the very opposite of what characterised the Amazons, unless we suppose that it is the overcoming of the warlike by the peaceful fruit-giving aspect—the transformation of Astarte into Ashera, which is expressed in this epithet.

quered in the Amazons an enemy who had menaced all Hellas." They had really conquered this enemy, but in a different way from that supposed by the mythus.

According to Attic tradition, it was not only the Amazons that Theseus had to conquer; he subdued and slew the man-devouring bull of Cnossus and the fire-breathing bull of Marathon.[1] As Minos, king of Crete, had taken Megara and invaded Attica, which was plagued with bad crops and famine, and the rivers of which had dried up,[2] the Athenians were forced to conclude a treaty which obliged them every eighth year to send to Crete seven boys and seven girls for the Minos bull, the Minotaur, to eat. According to the narrative of Hellanicus, Minos himself chose the sacrifices in Attica, and took Theseus first.[3] Theseus conquered the Minotaur. These legends betray that the worship of Baal Moloch of the Phœnicians was once practised in Attica. The conquest of the bull of Marathon, of the bull of Cnossus, is the conquest of the bull-god. The bull of Marathon that vomited flames, and the bull of Cnossus in Crete which devoured the children of the Athenians, are the bull-shaped images of Baal Moloch, to whom children were burned as a sin-offering. This happened in times of great distress, when the hot summer sun had withered all the seeds; and the Attic legend expressly says that the Athenians were constrained by bad harvests and famine and the drying up of their river to send their children to the Minotaur. When the legend says further that a son of Minos, Androgeos

[1] Eurip. *Herc. Furens*, 1327; Serv. *ad Æneid.* 6, 20.
[2] Plut. *Thes.* 15, 17.
[3] Hellanicus in Plutarch, *Thes.* 17.

(man of the earth) or Eurygyes (wide plain), was killed by the flames of the bull of Marathon, these names stand in the place of Hyacinthus, whose death was mourned at Amyclæ. It was the seeds and flowers which had sprouted forth in the spring sunshine that the burning sun Baal Moloch had destroyed, even his own children. As the death of Hyacinthus was annually mourned at Amyclæ, so the Athenians annually celebrated funeral games[1] in the Ceramicus to Eurygyes, slain in the prime of the year. That children were once burned in Attica to Baal Moloch is proved not only by these legends, but also by the rites of the Thargelia, in which expiatory offerings were presented to the sun-god Apollo, who took the place of Baal Moloch, in the month of Thargelion (May), that he might not consume with the summer sun the ripening harvest. Two persons, one as an atonement for men, the other for women, who had been previously chosen for the purpose, and who were apparently criminals, were scourged seven times and then burned.[2] The transference of the offering of the Athenian children to Crete was asserted in the legend, because Greek emigrants found the worship of Baal Moloch in the form of a bull prevailing in Crete and Rhodes long after it had been discontinued in Attica. Eurygyes might be connected with Minos as his son, because Minos is to the Greeks not only the representative of the supremacy of the Phœnicians in the Ægean Sea, but also the expression for one aspect of Melkarth. Theseus had no need to sail to Crete in order to abolish the sacrifice of children.

[1] Hesych. ἐπ' Εὐρυγύῃ ἀγών.

[2] Aristoph. *Equites*, 1136; *Ranæ*, 733; and the *Scholia*. Tzetzes *Chil.* 736; Suidas φαρμακός, φαρμακοῖς; Phot. *Bibl.* c. 279.

If the rites of the Syrian Aphrodite and the Syrian Astarte, of Baal Melkarth and Baal Moloch, by the unmistakable traces they have left in Attica, prove the settlement of the Phœnicians and their lasting influence in that country, further evidence of Phœnician residence, and even dominion, may be found in the legend of the sojourn of Dædalus in Attica, he being to the Greeks the symbol for ancient Phœnician art; such evidence is afforded by the name of the Attic tribe of the Dædalids, by the ancient skill of Athens in pottery, shared by her with Corinth; by the descent of Dædalus from Erechtheus in the old Attic story, which goes on to represent Pandion, the son of Erechtheus, on the Attic throne, as succumbing to Dædalus and his brothers.[1] The group of hills situated to the north of the Museum-hill and west of the Acropolis, and divided from both by depressions of the ground, bears the name of Melite which frequently occurs among the Phœnicians. The inhabitants of this part of the city, the members of the deme of Melite, worshipped Heracles as their special tutelary god,[2] and the remains of the sites found in the rocks at the Melitean gate leave scarcely any doubt that these were once the abode of the Phœnician settlers on the west coast of Attica, who emigrated hither from Salamis. There are in the cliff levelled spaces, behind which the smooth precipice rises steeply; these are closely packed together, and are about 800 in number;[3] on these rocks no house could be built before the foundation had been levelled; then came

[1] Diodor. 4, 76; the grave of Talus under the Acropolis, Pausan. 1, 21, 6; 1, 5, 3; Apollod. 3, 15, 5.
[2] Wachsmuth, *Athens*, p. 406.
[3] Curtius, *Attische Studien*, 1, 16; *Erl. Text*, pp. 14, 15, 17.

cisterns, canals, staircases. Works in the rock of a different kind are found on the hill of the nymphs and on the Pnyx, where two terraces are placed one above another, and bounded by each other in such a manner that the under is closed by a polygonal wall beneath it to the north, and on its top is perfectly levelled; on the top of the wall behind it, the second terrace is levelled on the rocks above, with a similar back wall; one stone cube in the living rock has been left standing in the centre of the upper terrace and one in the centre of the lower. Like similar sites in the plain of the Phœnician Marathon,[1] and taken in connection with the stone graves at Spata, which are made exactly in the ancient Phœnician manner, and with the objects found in them (p. 72), these remains in the rocks at Melite must be ascribed to Phœnician settlers who once dwelt here. Æschylus represents the Amazons of the town of Athens as erecting a new city on the Areopagus, and surrounding it with high towers.[2]

Opposite the central territories of the Greek peninsula on the east, stretching to a considerable length, and only separated from the mainland by a narrow channel, lies the island of Eubœa. Its shores were rich with purple shell-fish, and in its rocks were copper ore and iron.[3] According to Greek tradition, Cadmus landed on Eubœa, and some Arabians came with him.[4] The appellations Macris and Porphyra, which the island is said to have once borne, point to the purple dye of the Phœnicians, and to Makar, the modification,

[1] Wachsmuth, *Athens*, p. 431. [2] *Eumenides*, 687 ff.

[3] From its ores the island is said to have been formerly called Chalcis; another interpretation refers to Χάλκη or Κάλχη purple shell-fish; Hesych. Χάλκη; Plin. *Hist. Natur.* 4, 12 (21, Jan.); Aristot. *Hist. Anim.* 5, 15; Eustath. *ad Dionys.* 764.

[4] Strabo, p. 447.

as we have seen, of Melkarth,[1] while the name of the city of Styra in the south of the island shows that it is derived from Astarte.[2] The warm springs in the north of the island belonged to Heracles[3] (warm springs were sacred to Melkarth); in the fountain of Arethusa at Chalcis sacred fishes adorned with silver and gold spangles, creatures of the Syrian goddess,[4] were kept; near the town of Chalcis was a spot sacred to the Amazons. Artemis Amarysia, whom we have already met with in Attica, was the tutelary divinity of Eretria; Linus, who invented the dirge which was sung in the height of summer, is said to have dwelt in Eubœa; *i.e.* here also the youthful god who dies with the bloom of spring was mourned,[5] and the legend of Eubœa made the wise Palamedes, who, as we saw, was to the Greeks the personification of Phœnician knowledge and invention, likewise a son of the island.[6] The Eubœans were said to have been the first to wear brazen armour, and to have been the best smiths and workers in bronze. Chalcidian swords, goblets, and hammers were in request even in the sixth and fifth centuries. We may venture to trace this skill in bronze-work and the tradition of the technical art in Eubœa, as at Corinth and Athens, to the ancient settlement of the Phœnicians on this island.

In the fruitful plain, only traversed by low hills, which stretches from the northern declivity of Mount Cithæron to the Bœotian lakes opposite the narrowest part of the sound which separates Eubœa from the

[1] Strabo, p. 444; Steph. Byz. Μάκρις; Apollon. *Argon.* 4, 1175.
[2] Olshausen, *Hermes*, 14, 145 ff.
[3] Strabo, p. 425; Steph. Byz. Αἴδηψος.
[4] Athenæus, p. 331; Plut. *Soll. Anim.* 23.
[5] Suidas, Λίνος Χαλκιδεύς.
[6] Hesychius, Εὐβοιεύς ὁ Παλαμήδης, ὁ πολλῶν εὑρέτης.

mainland, in the "well-watered, pasture-bearing region of the Aones," as Euripides says, lay the citadel and town of Thebes. According to Greek tradition, it was built by Cadmus the Phœnician. The Aones, who inhabited the country, are said to have amalgamated with the Phœnicians whom Cadmus brought with him, into one people.[1] The citadel lay on a hill of moderate height between the streams Ismenus and Dirce; it bore even in historical times the name Cadmea; the ridge to the north of the town was called Phœnicium, *i.e.* mountain of the Phœnicians. In the story of Cadmus and Europa, Greek legend relates, the Phœnician mythus of Melkarth and Astarte. In order to seek the lost goddess of the moon, Astarte, Cadmus-Melkarth, the wandering sun-god, sets forth. He finds her in the far west, in Bœotia, and here in Thebes, on the Cadmea, celebrates the holy marriage. As soon as her zone is loosed, the goddess of war bringing destruction is changed into the fruit and wealth bestowing goddess of production—Ashera. The Greeks here call Astarte-Ashera, Harmonia; according to her double nature, she is to them the daughter of the "Shield-cleaving Ares" and the "Golden Aphrodite;" the gods lead her to Cadmus, and bring bridal gifts to the wedding, which is celebrated amidst the singing of the Muses. Three miles north of Thebes, at Teumessus, was shown the grotto in which Zeus had hidden Europa, *i.e.* Astarte, when he had carried her off, on the Cadmea, the place where the house of Cadmus had stood, and the remains of the bridal-chamber of

[1] Pausan. 9, 5, 1, 2, 7; Hesiod. *Fragm.* 204, Lehrs. Apollon. *Argonaut.* 1, 735. In the *Odyssey*, 11, 263, on the contrary, the building of the walls of Thebes is attributed to Amphion and Zethus; Amphion and Zethus are the Dioscuri of Thebes, *infra*, ch. 9.

Harmonia-Europa.[1] The wooden images of Aphrodite which Pausanias saw on the Cadmea (they were so old that they were said to be the votive offerings to Harmonia, made out of the beaks of the ships of Cadmus) were more probably images of Harmonia herself, which belonged to the goddess in her twofold aspect—her friendly and hostile sides.[2] Not far from the town of Thebes lay the shrine of the Cabeiri, the eight greater gods of the Phœnicians.[3] If the Phœnician god, according to the mythus in which he seeks the moon and brings her home, becomes to the Greeks the hero Cadmus who was to enjoy another life in the Elysian fields, and whose daughters were deities,—the same Phœnician god, according to his other aspect in which he has to fight and labour, and conquer the hostile powers of animals, is changed into the hero Heracles; with the Greeks Thebes passed as the birthplace of Heracles. That the worship of Baal Moloch was also once observed in Thebes follows from the legend that Heracles burned his children; from the verses of Pindar, which represent him as throwing his eight children into the fire at Thebes; from the poem of Euripides of *Heracles Furens;* and from the funeral solemnities which the Thebans held yearly to these children before the Gate of Elector.[4]

There are a few relics of the wall of the citadel of Cadmea, principally on the north side; they are great blocks, not quite regularly hewn.[5] Of the city wall and the famous seven gates in it nothing remains; even this number seven points to the Phœnicians as well as the designations which were retained by these

[1] Pausan. 9, 12, 5. [2] Pausan. 9, 16, 3. [3] Pausan. 9, 25, 5.
[4] Pind. *Isthm.* (3) 4, 104; and the *Scholia*. Pausan. 9, 11, 2; Diodor. 4, 11. [5] Bursian, *Geograph.* 1, 227.

gates even in historical times. The Electric gate belonged to the sun-god Baal, called by the Greeks Elector;[1] the Neitic gate, it would seem, to the god of war, the Baal Moloch of the Phœnicians, the Nergal of the Babylonians, to whom the planet Mars was assigned. The gate Hypsistia was that of Zeus Hypsistos, whose shrine stood on the Cadmea; the highest god of heaven among the Phœnicians was El, to whom belonged Saturn; the Prœtidic gate belonged to Astarte, whose domain was the moon; the Oncæic gate in the north-west belonged to Athena Onca, who is expressly called a Phœnician goddess;[2] it was most likely the gate of Astarte-Ashera; to whom belonged the planet Venus. If we can ascertain the gates sacred to the sun and moon, to Saturn, Mars, and Venus, it is probable that the two remaining gates, the Homoloic and the Crenaic, were also dedicated to gods of this circle—to the spirits of planets.[3]

According to Greek legend, Cadmus invented the building of walls, mining, armour, and letters. Herodotus contents himself with saying that the Phœnicians who came with Cadmus taught much to the Greeks, even writing: from the Phœnicians the Ionians, in whose midst they lived, had learned letters.[4] If even this early borrowing of writing on the part of the Greeks is incorrect, all the other particulars,—the legend of Cadmus, which extends to the Homeric poems, where the inhabitants of Thebes are called Cadmeans; the rites of the Thebans; the walls and

[1] *Hymn. in Apoll.* 369; *Il.* 6, 513; 19, 398.
[2] Pausan. 9, 12, 2.
[3] Brandis, *Die Deutung der sieben Thore Thebens, Hermes*, 2, 269 ff.
[4] Herod. 5, 58.

gates,—taken together, give evidence that the Phœnicians went over from Eubœa to the continent, and here fixed one of their most important and lasting colonies upon and around the hill of Cadmea.

North-west of Thebes, beyond the Bœotian lakes which fill up the depression or basin in the centre of Bœotia, between Orchomenus and Coronea, lies the mountain of Laphystium, *i.e.* the mountain of Laphystius, of the Devourer, on which stood an altar of Zeus Laphystius.[1] Greek tradition relates that the daughters of Minyas, the ancient king of Orchomenus, the tribal ancestor of the Minyæ, had devoured their children. Ever after, the men of this tribe were called the "flame blackened" (ψολόεις), but the women the "destroying." "Every year," continues Plutarch, "at the feast of the Agrionia, these women are obliged to flee, and the priest pursues them sword in hand, and, in my time, Zoïlus the priest killed one of them. The appellation 'flame blackened' could only be applied to men, members of whose family had once been burned; that of 'destroying' could only be given to women who had devoted their children to death; and the devouring god, to whom these offerings were brought, can only have been El or Moloch of the Phœnicians, though the Greeks of a later date might have named him Dionysus or Zeus."[2] The slaying of the children could only be explained by madness: Dionysus, the god of inspiration, gave to those who opposed him, instead of inspiration, madness. A further evidence of the intercourse of Orchomenus with the Phœnicians is the wealth of the city, boasted of in the Homeric hymns, and the remains of the buildings,—of the sepulchral vault and the

[1] Pausan. 9, 35, 5, 6, 7. [2] Plut. *Quæst. Græc.* 38.

burial-chambers, which are not inferior to those at Mycenæ.

Again, to the north of Bœotia, in the valley of the Spercheus, on the Gulf of Pagasæ, there are traces at Iolcus of Phœnician worship. The warm springs which rise at the foot of Mount Oeta, not far from the place where the steep east precipice of the mountain comes close to the coast, were sacred to Heracles; on the summit of Oeta he burned himself to death like the god of the Phœnicians, in order, according to the mythus, to arise with renewed youth out of the flames, and, according to the Greek legend, to ascend to Olympus.[1] On the summit of Pelion (it rises nearly 5000 feet close above the coast), so Dicæarchus relates, are the hut of Cheiron and a shrine of Zeus Actæus (or Acræus). When the dog-star rises, and the heat is greatest, certain young men, chosen by the priest from the noblest families, go up to this shrine, having shaggy skins of freshly-killed rams about their shoulders.[2] It was a pilgrimage to the god of heaven to moderate the heat, not to allow the pastures to wither. The Greeks were wont to propitiate Zeus with the offering of a ram. The procession of the youths clothed with ram skins to the altar indicates that in former times the youths themselves were sacrificed.

On the Gulf of Pagasæ, under Mount Pelion, lies Iolcus, and on a spur of Mount Othrys, opposite Iolcus, Halus. The plain round Halus is called the Athamantic field, like the territory round Orchomenus; in both places the Minyæ were settled.[3] Athamas is said to have once ruled in Iolcus and Halus; when

[1] Herod. 7, 176, 198.
[2] Dicæarch. *Fragm.* 60, 8.
[3] Pausan. 9, 24, 1.

there came a drought, he wished to offer his son Phrixus as an offering to Zeus Laphystius, but Phrixus was carried off by a ram through the air to the east, to the land of the Æetes.[1] The first-born of the family of Athamas was still doomed, however, to fall as a sacrifice to Zeus Laphystius. Long after, when another race of Greeks had for some time borne rule in Thessaly, and the house of Athamas reigned no more in Halus and Iolcus, the first-born of the race of the Athamantidæ at that period was forbidden to enter the Prytaneum; if he was seized there he was held fast and offered as a sacrifice of atonement and purification for the land; if he escaped, a ram was offered in his place. To enter the Prytaneum was considered as the assumption of kingly dignity. So late as the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ, Athamantidæ were offered as sacrifices. Plato compares these offerings with those which the Carthaginians bring to Cronos.[2] It was the first-born son of the king whom the Phœnicians and Syrians in severe drought and times of great necessity offered to Baal Moloch. Not only these cults of Halus and Iolcus, but the graves of the Amazons in Pharsalus and Scotussa (p. 65), and the architectural knowledge of the Pharsalians (p. 47), show that the worship of Astarte as well as of Baal Moloch prevailed in the south-west of Thessaly, and that the Phœnicians once had settlements even in the well-protected Gulf of Pagasæ.

[1] Apollod. 1, 9, 1; Pausan. 1, 24, 2.

[2] Herod. 7, 197; Plato, *Minos*, p. 315; Apoll. Rhod. *Argon.* 2, 514 ff.; and the *Scholia*.

CHAPTER V.

THE LEGENDS OF ARGOS.

THE ancient monuments on the soil of Greece, the foreign rites which can be proved to have had their origin in antiquity, and were in use in a number of Greek communities in historic times, revive lost periods before our eyes. If we wish to discover in what state the Greeks were when the Phœnicians landed on their coasts, we must call to mind those intuitions, those evidences of civilisation which they brought with them from the common Arian store, and we shall thus find that the Greeks may have been in possession of ancient religious notions and the rudiments of culture, half forgotten in their long wanderings; may have commenced the transition from pastoral life to agricultural in the more fertile cantons of the east coast (at any rate the worship of Demeter Thesmophoros, ascribed to the Pelasgians, points to this) when the Phœnicians arrived in their country. They came in search of purple shell-fish and metals. They founded settlements in Cythera, on the shore of the Gulf of Laconia, on that of Argos at Nauplia, opposite the isthmus in the isle of Minoa, on the isthmus itself. They established themselves in Salamis and Eubœa; they crossed over from Salamis to Melite, and from Eubœa to Marathon. From Eubœa also they founded their most important settle-

ment in Greece—the Cadmea; in the north-west of Bœotia, they acquired land at Orchomenus; lastly, from the northern coast of Eubœa they passed on to the shores of the Gulf of Pagasæ, and settled at Halus and Iolcus. It was principally to the regions in possession of the Ionian tribes, on the isthmus and north-east of the isthmus, that they betook themselves. The Greeks learned from them to work in clay and bronze, especially on the isthmus, in Attica, and Eubœa; they see the walls which the Phœnicians build to protect their colonies, and learn from them the art of building; they adopt cults of the gods whom they see worshipped by the Phœnicians; the worship of Astarte, of Ashera, of Adonis, of Baal Melkarth, of Baal Moloch, without forgetting their old helpful spirits—the spirits of light and brightness, of the gifts of water—whom they had invoked in their ancient home and on their wanderings, and continued to invoke in their new abode.

Do the legends of the Greeks tell us nothing of the times before the arrival of the Phœnicians; nothing of the Phœnicians on their coasts except the story of Cadmus; nothing at all of the times when the Phœnicians were again dislodged from the coasts of Hellas?

On the Gulf of Argos, Æschylus represents King Pelasgus, the son of the earth-born Palæchthon, as ruling far and wide over the people called after him (p. 15); to him Danaus comes praying for help, with fifty daughters, from Egypt. Sophocles places Inachus, *i.e.* the river which waters the plain of Argos, "the begetter, the child of the springs of Ocean," at the head of the rulers of Argos; "over the valleys of Argos and the heights of Hera, over the Pelasgians he ruled

mightily."[1] Acusilaus likewise calls Inachus "the first ruler of Argos." The sons of Inachus are Phoroneus, Ægialeus, and Apis; in marriage with Niobe, sister of Apis, Zeus begets Pelasgus and Argos; Hellanicus makes Pelasgus, the son of Phoroneus, build Larisa in Argos.[2] Out of these names with a few others the logographers have arranged the dynasty of the Inachidæ in the following order:—Inachus, Phoroneus, Apis, Argos, Criasus, Phorbas, Triopas, Crotopus, Sthenelus. The chronographers are so fortunate as to know all the dates of the reigns of these kings with perfect accuracy.

King Pelasgus is, as we know, the name of the ancient time; King Apis is derived from the name Apia, which the Peloponnesus is said—perhaps with truth—to have once borne; γῆ ἀπία signifies water-land—a land surrounded by water.[3] By this name the northern regions might well call the southern island, which was only joined to them by the isthmus. King Argos is the name of the territory, the flat plain on the Inachus; Phoroneus (the bearer) belongs to the sky, and to the earth only so far as he brought fire from heaven to men. In the oldest and most venerated temple—that of the Lycian Apollo, at Argos—burned the fire of Phoroneus. Phoroneus is a form of Hephæstus, of Prometheus, of the fire-bringing god generally.[4]

[1] Dionys. Halicarn. *Antiq.* 1, 25. The appellation Tyrrhenic for the Pelasgians arose from the custom in the fifth century of calling the Pelasgians Tyrrhenians.

[2] Hellanic. *Fragm.* 37 M.

[3] Pott, *Etymolog. Forschungen*, 2, 43.

[4] Pausan. 2, 15, 5; 2, 19, 5; 2, 20, 3. Kuhn (*Herabkunft des Feuers*) derives Φορωνεύς from Bhuranya, which would signify the descending, the down-rushing, *i.e.* the lightning; Pott traces back Φορωνεύς to φέρω; the bringer coincides similarly with the fire-bringing god.

With the name of Danaus a new series of kings is begun. He is the offspring of Io, daughter of Inachus. She, the priestess of Hera at Argos, was beloved by Zeus; when Hera discovered their love, Zeus changed Io into a white cow. But Hera drove forth this cow, raging with madness. Through the northern lands she came to Thrace, then swimming across the Bosporus to Phœnicia, from thence to Egypt. Here she bore Epaphus to Zeus; from Epaphus spring Agenor and Belus; from Belus, Ægyptus and Danaus; the former has fifty sons, the latter fifty daughters; the sons of Ægyptus pursue the fifty daughters of Danaus. Danaus flees with them to Argos. In Æschylus, Pelasgus receives the suppliants in a friendly manner. In later writers, Danaus comes to Sthenelus, and the people of Argos give the sovereignty to Danaus; when Sthenelus has reigned eleven years, and the sovereignty of the Inachidæ has lasted altogether 382 years.[1]

Io is the moon-goddess of Argos; the Egyptians, says Herodotus, represent Isis, as the Hellenes Io. "The Egyptians call Isis Io," observes Apollodorus.[2] On the sculptures at Mycenæ we see Io as a horned maiden.[3] The service of the horned Astarte among the Phœnicians, and of the cow Isis among the Egyptians, caused the Greeks to invent the story that their Io had wandered from Argos in the form of a cow to Syria and Egypt. This legend could only have arisen when Egypt had become open to the Greeks; and it did arise at that period. It is the

[1] Apollod. 2, 1, 8; Pausan. 2, 16, 1; 2, 19, 3; Euseb. *Chron.* 1, 178; 214, Schœne.
[2] Herod. 2, 41; Apollod. 2, 1, 3.
[3] Gerhard, *Mykenische Alterthumer.*

catalogue of women brought to a close in the last third of the seventh century, and bearing the name of Hesiod, which first transports Io to Egypt, and makes the kings of Argos descend from her. To this catalogue belongs that genealogy of Epaphus Agenor and Belus, in which Epaphus (*i.e.*, no doubt, the bull Apis) represents Egypt, and Agenor and Belus, Phœnicia; and which is followed by Æschylus, with some alteration. The fifty daughters of Danaus belong likewise to this catalogue.[1] Ægyptus and Argos are brothers because both worship the horned moon-goddess, or the moon-goddess in the form of a cow. According to this pedigree, Danaus, though born in Egypt, is not an Egyptian but an Argive, who returns from Egypt to his home, and there occupies his rightful place.

The form of Danaus seems to have been taken from a designation borne by the people of Argos. In the Homeric poems the Argives more especially, but also the Greeks in general, are called Danai: there is no mention of a King Danaus. The sense of the word is obscure; the meaning of the root may be traced to "the past," but also to "grant" or "gift;" in the one case the Danai would signify the men of the past, in the other the givers.[2] A verse of Hesiod says: Danaus made waterless Argos to be watered. According to another reading the daughters of Danaus watered waterless Argos:[3] and if, as we learn, though certainly at a later time, the daughters of Argos in the world below incessantly carry water in a bottom-

[1] Kirchhoff; Homer, *Odyssee*, pp. 329, 330.

[2] As referred to *δήν* or *δάνος*; or to *δάνειον δανείζω*; Curtius, *Etymol.* pp. 1, 293.

[3] *Fragm.* 69, Lehrs; Strabo, p. 371.

less vessel, the story points very distinctly to water-maidens whose care it is that *the springs of Argos do not dry up*. In the German Saga Frau Holle bears water in a bucket without a bottom, *i.e.* she keeps *the springs constantly running*. The fifty sons of Ægyptus who pursue the Danaids as enemies, and follow them from Egypt to Argos, may be interpreted in reference to the heat which comes up from the south; the Greeks counted fifty days of the dog-star. The sons of Ægyptus overtake and marry the daughters of Danaus; but their brides murder them all, with the exception of one, Lynceus, the first night of marriage. That may signify that the hot days do not attain their aim, that they do not succeed in entirely drying up the springs,[1] that at the last moment they burst forth again, that the spring-maidens keep their maidenhood. This interpretation seems to contradict the statement of Herodotus that the Danaids had taught the Pelasgian women of Argos the Thesmophoria of Demeter,[2] the usages of which were essentially connected with marriage. But as the cultivation and fruit of the ground, which are the foundation of house and hearth, are also essential elements in the Thesmophoria, and marriage in the Thesmophoria is the cultivation of the ground—if the Danaids gave water to the ground of Argos, and thereby caused its fruits to thrive, a share in the Thesmophoria might the more readily be ascribed to them, since the Greeks gave the nymphs of the springs a share in the conclusion of marriages.

Hypermnestra, the daughter of Danaus, "the

[1] Pausanias (2, 15, 5) tells us that all the springs of Argos, except that of Lerna, were dried up in summer. Eustath. *ad Il.* p 461.

[2] Herod. 2, 171.

mighty ruler" of Argos,[1] had spared her bridegroom, and became the wife of the "far-famed Lynceus," as the Hesiodic poems say, and bore him Abas. The sons of Abas were Acrisius and Prœtus. They fought on the road from Epidaurus to Argos about the sovereignty; but the battle was undecided. Then they divided the kingdom; Acrisius received Argos, Prœtus Tiryns, which Tiryns, the son of the supposed King Argos (p. 79), had built. For Prœtus the Cyclopes are said to have constructed the mighty walls around Tiryns. Acrisius had a daughter, Danaë. An oracle warned him against his daughter's son. That she might never have intercourse with a man, Acrisius shut her up in a dark dungeon. But Zeus came to her in the shape of golden rain, and Danaë bore Perseus. Then Acrisius placed Danaë and the boy in a chest, and had it thrown into the sea. The waves bore the chest to the island of Seriphus, where Dictys fished it up and King Polydectes received the fugitives hospitably. Having fallen in love with Danaë, Polydectes sent forth her son, who was now grown up, in order to destroy him and take Danaë to his house. Perseus was to slay a monster, the gorgon, the sight of which turned every one to stone from terror. Perseus with the help of Athena accomplished this deed. With the head of the gorgon, which he cut off, he turned Polydectes and his followers to stone, brought his mother back to Argos, killed Acrisius with a throw of a quoit, built Mycenæ and divided the kingdom among his three sons — Electryon, Alcæus, and Sthenelus. Electryon ruled at Mycenæ, Alcæus at Tiryns, and Sthenelus at Argos or at Midea.[2]

[1] Pausan. 10, 10, 5.

[2] *Il.* 19, 115. Hesiod, *Scut. Herc.* 222. Pausan. 2, 15, 4; 2, 18, 1; 2, 25, 9; 1, 22, 7. Apollod. 2, 1, 2. Diod. 4, 10.

The division of the kingdom is invented from the neighbourhood of the ancient fortresses, the Argive Larisa built by Pelasgus, the citadel of Tiryns, and that of Mycenæ. The Cyclopes, *i.e.* the "wheel-eyed" or "round-eyed," who built the walls of Tiryns, are mythical beings.[1] What is the true state of the case with regard to the fortifying of Tiryns we have seen above. Acrisius signifies without judgment; Dictys the man of the net, the fisherman; Polydectes the much-receiving, the hospitable. Danaë is the land of the Danai; the son by whom the god of heaven made fruitful the land of the Danai in the darkness—Perseus —is the god of light himself, Apollo. Apollo was zealously worshipped in Argos. Danaus is said to have founded his worship, to have erected the temple

[1] If we believe with Apollodorus that they came out of Lycia, all the other migrations of which the Greek legends tell—the migration of Danaus from Egypt and of the Athenians from Sais, and the migrations of the Thracians and Mysians—must also be allowed to stand. These would certainly have transformed the Greeks into a very peculiar people; their language must have borne witness to it. We are here concerned with times which lie many centuries before the commencement of history, and with the intuitions of a people not merely rich in poetry, but full of imagination which loved combinations in the highest degree. Where, therefore, opportunity was given, as in the case before us, for such combinations, we have need to be cautious, and not to depart without urgent reason either from the universal principle of all mythical investigation—that it is the nature of the mythus and of poetry to make romances out of the actions of the gods, and heroes and warriors out of the gods; or from the equally well-established principle of criticism —that all emigrations from countries showing analogy in their worship with that of the Greeks, should be regarded with suspicion. The fancy of the Greeks had not the smallest perception in these things for definite originality; its constant endeavour was rather to find Greek cults in other countries. If they found them, they must also have come from the place where they were found to the Greek peninsula. This rediscovery was to them a confirmation of the forms of their gods, and the more such a cult was imported, and the greater the distance from which it came, so much the more desirable, because the more wonderful and many-coloured. That the walls of Tiryns show affinity with Lycian monuments no one will assert.

of Apollo Lynceus at Argos, and to have consecrated the ancient wooden image of the god therein.[1] If Seriphus afforded refuge to Perseus-Apollo, Apollo was worshipped here under the name of Perseus;[2] the turning to stone of Polydectes is taken from the stony nature of this island, of which it was jestingly said *that Seriphus had been injured by the head of* Medusa.[3] The name Perseus signifies the destroyer, a designation borne by the god of light, as banisher, conqueror, and slayer of the monsters of the night: Athena supports him in his conflict with the gorgon, for she too has to fight against the black spirits of darkness and drought, she too has conquered the gorgon and set her head in her shield.

The sons of Electryon of Mycenæ, so the legend continues, were slain by the Taphians and Teleboeans who landed for plunder in the Bay of Argos. Electryon himself met his death at the hand of the son of his brother, Alcæus of Tiryns. To Amphitryon, this son of Alcæus, Electryon had married his own daughter Alcmene. In a quarrel about oxen, Amphitryon slew his uncle and father-in-law, Electryon, and was forced to fly, stained with blood, from Argos. So the sovereignty of Mycenæ passed to Sthenelus of Midea, who transmitted it to his son, Eurystheus, who now took up his abode at the citadel of Mycenæ.

Amphitryon fled to Thebes; here his wife bore to him, or rather to Zeus, Heracles. Pindar represents Zeus as descending to Alcmene as to Danaë in golden rain, the emblem of the fructification of the earth.[4] Heracles then leaves his house at Thebes, "in foolish

[1] Pausan. 2, 19, 3-5. [2] Pausan. 2, 18, 1. [3] Strabo, p. 487.
[4] *Isthm.* 7, 5-10; *Nem.* 10, 19 ff.

blindness," as the poems of Hesiod say, in order to do honour to the wicked Eurystheus.[1] In the service of Eurystheus Heracles accomplishes his great deeds. According to the Homeric poems, even the might of Heracles did not escape the goddess of death, though he was the favourite son of Zeus. "Mœra bound him, and the evil anger of Hera;"[2] another form of the legend represents him as finding death by burning himself on the summit of Mount Oeta. As a descendant of Alcæus, the elder son of Perseus, Heracles should have succeeded Electryon on the throne of Mycenæ in the place of Eurystheus; instead of this, Heracles served Eurystheus. But not even to the sons of Heracles, to Hyllus and his brothers, will Eurystheus concede the throne. He pursues them; they fly from Argos or from Trachys on Mount Oeta (according as Heracles is said to have died a natural death at the court of Eurystheus or to have perished on the funeral pile on Mount Oeta), and find refuge in Attica. Eurystheus demands with force of arms that they shall be given up. Theseus, or the son of Theseus, Demophon, refuses this. There is a battle. Demophon commands the Athenian right wing, and Hyllus the left; Eurystheus is slain and remains on the field of battle. So runs the legend of Euripides. Isocrates represents Eurystheus as conquered with the Peloponnesians by the Athenians; he is then taken by the Athenians and dies, beseeching the protection of the men whom he had asked to be given up to him. In Diodorus, Theseus and Hyllus kill Eurystheus. The chariot of Eurystheus breaks in his flight; and Hyllus pursues and slays him. The Athenians showed the

[1] *Scutum Herc.* 9-56, 81-94.

[2] *Il.* 18, 115.

grave of Eurystheus at Gargettus, and at the shrine of Athena at Pallene.[1]

We found the worship of Baal Melkarth on the Cadmea at Thebes. The Heracles of the Greeks is Baal Melkarth, who, under the Greek name modified from the Phœnician Archal, became the hero Heracles. His deeds are those of Melkarth: he conquers the lion, *i.e.* the glowing heat of midsummer; he pursues the hind of Artemis for a whole year, *i.e.* he seeks the goddess of the moon who has escaped;[2] he wrests away the girdle of the queen of the Amazons, *i.e.* of the war-goddess Astarte; he journeys like Melkarth to the far west, to the Atlantic ocean, to fetch the apples of the Hesperides; he descends into the under world, as Melkarth goes to rest, in order to awake strengthened; he burns himself to death in order to arise like Melkarth with renewed youth from the flames. Heracles belongs in an especial manner to Thebes; it was here that the Greeks adopted the cult of Melkarth from the Phœnicians; and thus the legend assigns him to the race of the Persidæ from a motive which is clearly discernible. The kings who subsequently ruled in Argos wished to be descended from Heracles. They grounded their claim to the throne of Argos, which they had taken by force of arms, on the assertion that it had already belonged of right to their ancestors and the sons of their ancestors, and that it was kept from them unjustly. Therefore Amphitryon must be made the grandson of Perseus, and Perseus must flee from Argos to Thebes. It was more difficult to find a motive for the loss of the

[1] Herod. 9, 27; Eurip. *Heracl.* 671, 860 ff, 1030 ff; Isocrat. *Panath.* 194; Demosthen. *de Corona*, p. 290 R; *Epitaph*, p. 1391 R. Pindar (*Pyth.* 9, 83) seems to place the battle at Thebes; according to others it was fought on the isthmus. Diod. 4, 57.

[2] Pind. *Olymp.* 3, 53; Callimach. *in Dianam*, 100 ff.

throne and the service of Heracles with Eurystheus. An interpolated episode in the ancient *Iliad* connects this with the much-utilised jealousy of Hera. Zeus swears, when the travail of Alcmene begins, that the hero who was that day to see the light should rule as king over all the inhabitants round about. Then Hera arrests the pangs of Alcmene, and makes the wife of King Sthenelus give birth to Eurystheus in the seventh month; the oath of Zeus has brought Heracles into the service of Eurystheus.[1] In the Hesiodic poems it is "foolish infatuation" which causes Heracles to serve Eurystheus. A third reason given is that of atonement for the offerings of children, who had been sacrificed to Moloch on the Cadmea. Heracles is said to have thrown the seven or eight children whom the daughter of the King of Thebes bore to him into the fire, in a fit of frenzy sent on him by Hera (p. 72). In order to expiate this crime Heracles was obliged to serve Eurystheus. The refuge and protection found by the sons of Heracles in Attica are traceable to the worship of Heracles at Marathon (p. 62); here also, in the same territory of Marathon, must be fought the decisive battle in which, or after which, Eurystheus met his death; his grave was placed at Pallene.

When Eurystheus marched out against the sons of Heracles he gave over the kingdom in his absence to Atreus, the brother of his mother. After the fall of Eurystheus, Atreus, "because he seemed a valiant man," as Thucydides tells us, received, "with the consent of the people, lordship over Mycenæ, and all besides that had belonged to Eurystheus."[2] The progenitor of Atreus was Pelops, son of Tantalus, who had ruled on Mount Sipylus. Pelops went over the

[1] *Il.* 19, 97-124. [2] Hellanic. *Fragm.* 42 M; Thucyd. 1, 9.

sea, and came to Pisa, whose king, Oenomaus, would only consent to give his daughter Hippodamea in marriage to the man who should conquer him in a chariot race. Oenomaus possessed horses swift as the wind, and transfixed every charioteer whom he passed, with his lance. Already, according to some, eighteen; according to Pindar, thirteen, suitors of Hippodamea had in this way met their death,[1] when Pelops ventured on the contest. He bribed Myrtilus, the charioteer of Oenomaus, to see that the pins of the axles in the chariot of Oenomaus did not secure the wheels, won the victory by this means, killed Oenomaus, threw Myrtilus, instead of giving him the promised reward, into the sea, became King of Pisa in Oenomaus' stead, and in marriage with Hippodamea became the father of Atreus, Thyestes, Chrysippus, and Nikippe, who was married to King Sthenelus of Argos, and bore him Eurystheus, whose successor was Atreus.

Pelops is entirely unknown to the Homeric poems, though there was every opportunity to speak of him; though Atreus and the Atridæ are constantly mentioned, the name of Pelops never occurs. Only in the catalogue of the ships which was introduced into the *Iliad* at a notoriously late epoch, and certainly not before the year 630,[2] we read: "Hermes at the command of Zeus delivered the sceptre to the steed-driving Pelops; Pelops gave it to Atreus, the shepherd of nations; and he when dying committed it to Thyestes, rich in lands, who left it to Agamemnon to command many islands and all Argos."[3] It is Tyrtæus who first designates the Peloponnesus by that name, when he speaks of the wide island of Pelops, who calls Pelops

[1] Pausan. 6, 21, 10; Pind. *Olymp.* 1, 128.
[2] Book 2, ch. 12.
[3] *Il.* 2, 104 ff.

the Tantalid, "the most kingly king;" and shortly before Tyrtæus, or soon after him, the Cypria also speak of "the whole island of the Tantalid Pelops."[1]

Apparently the legend of Pelops was made up of very few elements; *it turns only on horses* and the chariot race. The catalogue of ships calls Pelops the horse-driver; Pindar makes Poseidon give Pelops a golden chariot and winged steeds (the sculptures on the chest of Cypselus[2] showed him about the year 600 B.C. on the chariot with winged horses); the daughter of Oenomaus is Hippodamea, *i.e.* horse-tamer; the son of Pelops, Chrysippus, *i.e.* golden horse; his daughter is Nikippe, *i.e.* chariot victory. The connection of the Pelopidæ with the Danaids through this Nikippe is a gratuitous invention.

When the offering which the Pisatæ used to bring to Zeus and Hera at the confluence of the Cladeus and the Alpheus, and which was afterwards undertaken by the Eleans, became a common offering of the Eleans, the Achæans on the north-west shore of the Peloponnesus, and the Messenians—when from this there gradually developed about 700 B.C. a sacrificial festival of almost all the Hellenes—there was added to the traditional gymnastic contests the chariot race in the year 680 B.C. Since the athletic contests of the festival were already at that time traced to Heracles, who is said to have founded them after his victory over Augeas, King of Elis,[3] the chariot race could not

[1] Tyrtæi *Fragm.* 2, 4; 12, 7, Bergk; *Schol.* Pind. *Nem.* 10, 114. The second part of the Homeric hymn to Apollo, which repeatedly names the Peloponnesus (250, 419, 430), is certainly not older than Tyrtæus.

[2] Pind. *Olymp.* 1, 140; Pausan. 5, 10, 2.

[3] That the Ætolians, when they invaded the region of the Alpheus, had found the worship of Heracles already established there, as Busolt (*Forschungen*, p. 10 ff) asserts, I cannot endorse. The hero Heracles is later than the Doric migration; at the earliest, he came to the

remain without ancient association and consecration. The story of the chariot race of Pelops was now invented: Pelops, who in ancient times had ruled over the Pisatæ, was now said to have become their prince, because he overcame King Oenomaus, who had ruled before him in Pisa in the chariot race, and the Eleans found it desirable to have Pelops the hero of the Pisatæ made their own hero.[1]

The connection of Pelops with Tantalus was invented by the Greek settlers beyond the Ægean Sea. The princes of Lesbos and Cyme, who ruled on the coasts of Troas and Mysia, traced their descent from Atreus and Agamemnon; accordingly, Pelops was also their ancestor. Tantalus was said to have been the most ancient king of the Mæonians, *i.e.* of the Lydians;[2] on Mount Sipylus, southward from Cyme, Tantalis, the royal citadel of Tantalus, is said to have

Peloponnesus with the Dorians, unless we base the hypothesis of a very ancient worship of the Tyrian Heracles high up on the course of the Alpheus upon the names of Jardanus and "Elishah" (p. 35), the doubtful appellation of Elis, which appears to me too hazardous, because the cult of Olympia betrays no trace of Phœnician origin; and lastly, athletic games could not have been traced to Melkarth, but only arose after his transformation into the hero. If Pausanias also gives the mythus of the Tyrian Heracles in the legend of Olympus, his mythus only came there through the hero Heracles. I will try to prove farther on that Heracles did not come with the Dorians into the Peloponnesus, but rather came first through Phidon from Argos to Olympia.

[1] Pind. *Olymp.* 1, 88 ff; Pausan. 5, 4, 3; 5, 13, 1-8. It is the Eleans who tried hard to take Pelops from the Pisatæ; as Oxylus makes a Pelopid into a Synœcist, Pelops was honoured in Elis before all heroes, etc. That must have been in the time when the Pisatæ disputed with the Eleans about the management of the games, *i.e.* after 676, which led to the formation of a common management from 660-572. The interest of the Eleans was then at the strongest to possess on their side a right and title to the leadership. At the same time, *i.e.* about 650, the name of Pelops comes into force. As the contest of Pelops and Oenomaus was already to be seen on the chest of Cypselus, the legend must have been established before the year 600.

[2] Sophocl. *Antig.* 825; Apollod. 3, 5, 6.

stood; the territories of Tantalus are said to have extended twelve days' journey from Mount Sipylus to Mount Ida; the throne of Pelops was placed upon Mount Sipylus.[1] The "talents of Tantalus" was an expression among the Greeks to denote boundless wealth. Ancient buildings in the rocks of Mount Sipylus made these heights appear like the seat of a prince of old time. Quite recently remains of walls have been discovered on the summit, and an outwork like an ancient seat; also the remains of a staircase on a sloping precipice of the mountain, leading to a door hewn in the rocks, the entrance to two chambers.[2] If Pelops were represented as the son of Tantalus, the ancient prince who had ruled here upon Mount Sipylus, and Tantalus or Pelops were represented as driven away from thence, the princes of Lesbos and Cyme had only conquered lands which belonged to them of right, and out of which their ancestors had unjustly been expelled; King Ilus of Ilium was said to have driven out Tantalus or Pelops;[3] the princes of Cyme and Lesbos had revenged this deed, while on their part they had reconquered these regions for themselves. The "talents of Tantalus," the riches of Pelops, which the legend extols, the golden lamb, which Hermes gave the Pelopidæ, and the possession of which secured the dominion to them, were inventions of the legend, founded on the golden land of Lydia and the riches of the Lydian kings. The descent of Pelops from Sipylus can only have been invented after the princes of Lesbos and Cyme ruled the coast of Troas from Mysia; the legend is more

[1] Strabo, p. 58, 579; Pausan. 5, 13, 7.

[2] The monuments were discovered by Humann; further particulars are not yet published. [See Ramsay, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. 3, p. 33 ff.]

[3] Diod. 4, 74.

recent than the *Iliad*, which had an opportunity of mentioning it if it had then existed; it can hardly go back farther than the beginning of the seventh century. The story of the chariot race of Pelops manifestly first arose after the introduction of the chariot race at Olympia.

The evil deeds of Tantalus and Pelops were no doubt devised by the poets to account for the crimes they attribute to Atreus and Thyestes, Ægisthus and Clytemnestra. The stone which Archilochus (before 650 B.C.), Alcman, Alcæus, Pindar, and Euripides hang over the head of Tantalus, while others represent Zeus as rolling Mount Sipylus upon him,[1] may point to some function of Tantalus, originally conceived as carrying or bearing; one version of the legend indeed maintains that Tantalus bore up the sky;[2] others explain the stone by a landslip that once happened upon Mount Sipylus, traces of which geologists find at the present day. Tantalus, however, suffers yet another punishment; the standing in water, which is for ever flying before his thirst, and the boughs covered with fruit, which always spring back,[3] would more properly be retribution for insatiable greediness than for the supposed slaying of Pelops, whom he is said to have set before the gods as a meal. In Sophocles the murder of Myrtilus by Pelops is the source of all the evil in his house;[4] but the bribing of Myrtilus was quite as superfluous as the murder instead of the promised reward, when the legend had put the winged horses of Poseidon at the disposal of Pelops.

[1] Archil. *Fragm.* 53, Bergk; Pind. *Isth.* 7, 9; Eurip. *Orest.* 5; *Schol.* Pind. *Olymp.* 1, 97.
[2] *Schol.* Eurip. *Orest.* 971.
[3] *Odyss.* 11, 582; Aristarchus declared this verse to be spurious; *Schol.* Pind. *loc. cit.*
[4] *Electra*, 504-516; cf. Euripid. *Orest.* 990.

Undisturbed by questions of this kind, the logographers make the succession after Danaus as follows: —Lynceus, Abas, Prœtus, Acrisius, Perseus, Sthenelus, and Eurystheus,[1] with whom the line of the Danaids ends, and the chronologists make these princes collectively reign for 207 years. Eurystheus is followed by Atreus and Thyestes, Agamemnon, Ægisthus; Ægisthus by Orestes, Tisamenus, and Penthilus. Whence come the exactly-measured periods of time for the Inachidæ, Danaids, and Pelopidæ, and the knowledge of the dates of the reigns of the several rulers, will hereafter be clear.

Not much is to be gained historically from this cycle of Argive legends. Its traits point to the worship of the river-god Inachus and to that of the nymphs of the fountains, the water-nymphs, who water the thirsty land; to the cult of the fire-bringing god, and that of the god of light, who slays the dæmons in the plain of Argos. Only the name of Pelasgus, derived from the universal intuition of the Greeks of ancient times, and specially attached to Argos, combined with the name Larisa, by which here and in Thessaly, on the Peneus as well as on Mount Othrys, the oldest fortified places were called (Larisa in Argos is said to have been named after the daughter of Pelasgus);[2] only the Thesmophoria of Demeter, which the Pelasgian women of Argos celebrate, are indications that here, in the plain of Argos, agriculture had prevailed sooner than in other cantons, and had led to fixed colonisation; and that this agricultural population found defence on a fortified height which

[1] Thus Castor in Eusebius, 1, 180, Schöne. Instead of Eurystheus with forty-five years, Africanus has Pelops and Oenomaus with thirty-eight years. Euseb. *Chron.* 1, 215. [2] Pausan. 2, 23, 8.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LEGENDS OF THE IONIANS.

The central territories of the peninsula north-east of the isthmus and the whole northern coast of the Peloponnesus were in possession of the tribes of the Ionian race (p. 31). The branch of the Ionians which occupied the north-west coast of the Peloponnesus, and dwelt on the shore of the Corinthian gulf, brought to the coast on which it settled the name of strand-people —Ægialieis. All that we are told of the Ægialieis is, that their communities presented at Helice, near the mouth of the Selinus,[1] common offerings from of old to the god whose waves washed their shore. The most important place of the Ægialieis, Sicyon, lay near the isthmus, on a fruitful strip of coast on the Asopus. Hither, as the *Theogony* relates,[2] Prometheus had brought fire from heaven; here the first sacrifice was offered, and the practice of sacrifice established among the Greeks. According to the legend of the people of Sicyon, Ægialeus, the ancestor of the Ægialieis, had here sprung from the ground; he had *founded Sicyon, first called Ægialea and then Mecone.*[3] Pausanias enumerates no fewer than twenty, the chronographers five-and-twenty, kings who reigned over Sicyon until the time that the Dorians conquered

[1] Herod. 1, 143, 145; Strabo, p. 384; Diodor. 15, 49.
[2] 535 ff.
[3] Pausan. 2, 5, 6 ff.

it. The names in the list bear unmistakably the stamp of having been borrowed; thus Europs, Apis, (from the ancient name of the Peloponnesus), Epopeus (son of Æetes, *i.e.* of the sun-god), Sicyon (according to the Hesiodic hymns Sicyon was the son of Erechtheus[1]), Pelasgus. Only Adrastus in this whole line shows more individual features.[2] He leads Capaneus and Eteocles, the descendants of Prœtus, from Tiryns; from Argos the Biantidæ, Mecisteus, and Parthenopæus, and the Melampodid, the prophet Amphiaraus; lastly Tydeus of Calydon (p. 28) against the Cadmeans, in order to establish Polynices, the son of Oedipus of Thebes, as king in that city, who, with his brother Eteocles, "disputed about the sheep of Oedipus," as we are told in the *Works and Days*.[3] But the heroes met their death before the seven gates of Thebes: Melanippus of Thebes slays Tydeus and Mecisteus, Amphiaraus is swallowed up by the earth in his flight,[4] only Adrastus escapes on his horse, "the black-maned Areion," as the Thebaid says;[5] Poseidon had begotten this swift horse in union with Harpyia, *i.e.* the storm-wind or Erinnys.[6] The sons of the fallen heroes, the Epigoni, afterwards revenged this defeat; the son of Eteocles, Laodamas, falls at the head of the Cadmeans after he had slain Ægialeus, the son of Adrastus. "We boast," says Sthenelus, the son of Capaneus, in Homer, "*that we are much stronger than our fathers*, for we took the seat of the seven-gated Thebes, although we led fewer men under the walls of Ares."[7] Adrastus belongs to Sicyon, not to Argos, as the name of his son Ægialeus shows: and the Pythia declared

[1] Pausan. 2, 6, 5.
[2] *Il.* 2, 572; Pind. *Nem.* 9, 9 ff; Herod. 5, 67.
[3] *Op.* 164.
[4] Pind. *Olymp.* 6, 21; *Nem.* 9, 25.
[5] Ap. Pausan. 8, 25, 5.
[6] *Schol.* Hom. *Il.* 23, 346.
[7] *Il.* 4, 406.

about 600 B.C. that Adrastus had been the ruler of Sicyon. He was a hero revered of old in Sicyon; his shrine stood in the market-place; he was first transferred to Argos, when Argos had become in the legend the central point of the heroic life in ancient times. In Pausanias' list of kings Adrastus is followed by three princes—Ianiscus, Phæstus, and Zeuxippus. Castor gives the period of government of the whole line of six-and-twenty kings as 959 years; Julius Africanus as 1007 years.[1] The legend of Sicyon furnishes no historical material, only in the story of the war against the Cadmeans there may lie a dark reminiscence of battles fought by the Ionians of the north coast in aid of their kinsmen in Bœotia against the Phœnicians before the Cadmea. Strabo says that the Phœnicians had maintained themselves in Thebes till the expedition of the Epigoni.[2]

The Ionians, who were settled on a narrow coast plain on the southern neck of the isthmus and on the hills sloping to the sea, consecrated the precipice, which rose abruptly over them 2000 feet, to the god of light, who each day was the first to illumine this summit with his rays and was the last to leave it, in the same way that the Greeks dedicated many lofty mountains elsewhere to Zeus, Apollo, and Helios. At the foot of this mountain a colony had sprung up, formerly called Ephyra but afterwards Corinth. Eumelus of Corinth, who lived about the middle of the eighth century, makes Helios the first to reign over Corinth. He divided his kingdom between his two sons Aloeus and Æetes;

[1] Euseb *Chron.* 1, 178, 216, Schöne; Gelzer, *Africanus*, p. 150 ff. Hippolytus and Lacestades (ap. Pausan. 2, 6, 7) are already Heraclidæ. That the seven priests were inserted in the time of Cleisthenes, Gutschmid perceives, no doubt correctly. Jahn's *Jahrb.* 1861, pp. 26, 27.

[2] p. 401.

Aloeus received Asopia, that is to say the country traversed by the river Asopus (Sicyonia), and Æetes Ephyræa. Aloeus left his territory to his son Epopeus, but Æetes went to Æa and made over Ephyra to Bunus. After Bunus Corinthus bore rule, and after Corinthus, Medea, the daughter of Æetes, who transferred the dominion to Sisyphus, son of Æolus.[1] Sisyphus, the tradition proceeds to relate, built the citadel of Corinth; he exceeded in craftiness all mortals; he knew how to fetter Death, and even after his own death how to persuade Persephone to let him ascend again to the light. For this, or other transgressions, he was obliged in the lower world to push a block of stone, as a punishment, up a hill from which it perpetually rolled down again. Below the acropolis of Corinth at the fountain Peirene, the Sisypheum, the site of the house which he inhabited, was shown.[2] After him reigned his son Glaucus, whom Merope, daughter of Atlas, bore him; he had mighty horses, swift as the wind. Prœtus of Tiryns (p. 83), as we learn from an episode of the *Iliad*, robbed Bellerophontes, son of Glaucus, of the dominion over Corinth, "for he was stronger;" in order to destroy Bellerophontes utterly he then sent him with a folded tablet full of "destructive characters" to the king of Lycia. Bellerophontes fought at his command against the Chimæra, the Amazons, the Solymi. When he had been successful in all, the king of the Lycians recognised in him a favourite of the gods, gave him his daughter in marriage, and Bellerophontes became the ancestor of a new royal house of Lycia.[3] But at Corinth there ruled after Bellerophontes,

[1] Pausan. 2, 3, 10; Simonid. *Fragm.* 48, Bergk.
[2] Strabo, p. 379.
[3] *Il.* 6, 155 ff.

Lycæthus, Creon, Thoas, Demophon, Propodas, and Hyanthidas.[1]

The legend of Corinth moves exclusively in the field of the mythus. The summit of Acrocorinth belonged to Helios-Apollo. High above on the citadel there afterwards stood an image of Helios. When Helios is said to have given this mountain to Aphrodite, it merely signifies that the worship of the god of light was the more ancient in this place, and that it was eradicated or at any rate injured by the later worship of Aphrodite, *i.e.* of Ashera, which the Phœnician colony had brought with them; the image of Helios stood in the temple of Aphrodite.[2] Æetes, who reigned after Helios in Ephyra, is a name of the sun-god, which is borrowed from Æa, his land of light, in the east. Corinth was connected with the name of Æetes in the mythus of Æa, the land of the sun, from which the golden fleece of the ram was to be brought back (Chap. viii.); according to this connection, the daughter of the sun-god, Medea, was said to rule in Corinth. How strong was the influence of the Phœnicians in this Corinthian territory, so favourably situated for navigation and commerce, we have already seen (p. 61); their stations introduced the worship of Ashera and Astarte, the custom of sacrificing children on Acrocorinthus, and the cult of Melicertes on the isthmus. The wily Sisyphus, the son of Æolus, *i.e.* of the shifty one, who excels all in cunning, is the expression of the superior shrewdness and knowledge of the strangers from the East; his punishment in the infernal regions is probably nothing but a poetical view of the unwearied labour of the sea-waves, which roll up from east and west to the cliffs of the isthmus, with-

[1] *Infra*, p. 130; Pausan. 2, 4, 3. [2] Pausan. 2, 1, 6; 2, 4, 6, 7.

out being able to reach the heights of the shore. King Glaucus, holder of horses, is formed from an appellation of the sea-god Poseidon; Bellerophontes is the Corinthian god of light himself. He has a shrine at Corinth; he rides the horse of the clouds, Pegasus,[1] which he took prisoner at the spring Peirene.[2] Sculptures show the head of the fighting Bellerophon surrounded by a crown of rays;[3] he conquers a monster, the Chimæra. The name of Bellerophontes signifies the slayer of Belleros.[4] Belleros signifies the hostile. Bellerophontes is accordingly a name of the god of light, which characterises him as overthrower of an evil being; as the destroyer of the dæmons and of the Gorgon; the god of light, as we have seen, was called Perseus. The evil being, Belleros, might be a Greek modification of the Verethra of the Arians in Iran, or even of the Indian Vritra.[5] Poetry transforms the dragon fight of the god into the deed of a hero, and the god into the hero, who has to serve a prince, as Perseus served Polydectes, and Heracles Eurystheus. The reason of the transference of the conflict from heaven to Lycia is, that the Greeks found in the land of the Termilæ (that was the name by which the Lycians called themselves) a worship of the god of light analogous to their own, and they supposed that the god abode during the stormy and rainy winter in the brighter and more friendly Lycia.

Like the legends of Argos, those of Sicyon and

[1] *Theogon.* 280 ff, 325.

[2] Pind. *Olymp.* 13, 61 ff; Pausan. 2, 2, 4.

[3] Jahn, *Archæolog. Beitrage*, 5, 119.

[4] Hesych. Βέλλερος; Eustath. *ad Il.* 6, 155.

[5] Thus Pott, *Z. f. Ver. Spr.*, 4, 416 ff; Max Müller (*Chips*, 2, 172) derives *βέλλερος* from varvara and vellus; *i.e.* from the shaggy ram, as symbol of the dark cloud.



Corinth did not remain in the mouths of the population who originally possessed these territories. The older population of Argos, as well as those of Sicyon and Corinth, was partly driven out and partly brought under the dominion of another tribe. If the ancient rural legends of these countries may have suffered changes from the arrival of their new rulers, the Attic legend certainly remained free from such attacks, for Attica has always been in possession of the same race. Its legends may therefore perhaps afford better historical material than those of the other lands. The Ionians of Attica boasted that they were Autochthones, the oldest race of the Greeks, and that they had from of old inhabited and built upon the country which they possessed.[1] "When the Pelasgians," says Herodotus, "occupied the land which is now called Hellas, the Athenians were Pelasgians, and were called Cranai, but under King Cecrops they were called Cecropidæ. On the Acropolis is the temple of Erechtheus, who was named the earth-born." After him Pandion was king, and after Pandion his son Ægeus.[2]

The name of Cecrops corresponds with the ancient name of the citadel of Athens, and was borrowed from it.[3] All that the Athenians could relate of Cecrops was that the earth had borne him, or that he had a serpent's foot.[4] The serpent's foot is the symbol of

[1] Herod. 7, 161: Thucyd. 1, 2; Plato, *Menex.* pp. 238, 245; Demosthen. *Epitaph.* p. 1398, R.

[2] Herod. 8, 44, 55; 1, 173.

[3] In the opinion of G. Curtius, *Κέκροψ* might be derived either from *καρπός* or *κρώπιον*, a sickle.

[4] Apollod. 3, 14, 1; Diodor. 1, 28. The supposed immigration of Cecrops stands in direct opposition to the conception of Cecrops in the legend as a serpent-footed son of the earth, and also to the boast of Autochthony, on which the Athenians at all times prided themselves. It is based, like the legend of Danaus, according to the analogy of

descent from the earth, and merely expresses the intuition that the earth-born could not free himself from his mother earth. Cecrops had his burial-place on the Acropolis, in the temple of the goddess of the citadel.[1] His daughters were called Aglaurus, Herse, and Pandrosus—all three names of Athena, the goddess who protected the Cecropia. Athena gives the water of the sky in storms, and again makes the sky shine brightly; in this capacity she is Glaucopis, *i.e.* the blue-eyed—and Aglaurus, *i.e.* the cheerful; she gives also the water of night, *i.e.* the dew; as the giver of dew she is called Herse, as the all-moistening, Pandrosus. The catalogue of ships in the *Iliad* calls the Athenians "the people of the high-minded Erechtheus, whom the fruitful ground bore, whom the daughter of Zeus once carried to her rich temple at Athens and brought up; where the youths of Athens in the course of the revolving year offer bulls and lambs."[2] The *Odyssey*, in a passage interpolated by the version of the Pisistratidæ, makes Athena go over

which it is formed, on the identification of Greek and Egyptian cults. As Io was combined with Astarte and Isis, so Neïth of Sais was compared with Athena (Herod. 2, 59, 62, 175). Plato first speaks in the *Timæus* (p. 21 ff) of a relationship between the Saïtes and Athenians, but he at the same time maintains that the Athenians are not Egyptians, but unmixed (*Menex.* 245). Calisthenes and Phanodemus, at the time of Alexander of Macedon, related the same, meaning that Sais was founded by Athens. Theopompus, the notorious opponent of Athens, reversed the story: the Athenians, he said, were colonists from Sais (*Fragm.* 172, Muller); similarly, Anaximenes of Lampsacus declared in a lampoon against the Athenians that they were not Greeks but Egyptians. Cecrops, as an immigrant from Egypt (Lucian calls him most distinctly a native of Attica, *Pseudolog.* c. 11), is first to be found, so far as I can discover, in Eusebius, and he is there brought forward in this way: διφυής must be explained either by the height of his stature, or "because he knew both languages, being an Egyptian" (*Chron.* 2, 24, Schone).

[1] Antioch. *Fragm.* 15 ed. Muller; *C.I.G.* No. 160, and Bœckh's Commentary.

[2] *Il.* 2, 548 ff.

the desert sea to Marathon and the wide-streeted Athens, where she disappears in the steadfast house of Erechtheus.[1] Like Cecrops, Erechtheus is earth-born, the tutelary goddess of Cecropia herself brought him up; in her place the later legend introduces the three daughters of Cecrops, who again are Athena. Athena confided the child *Erechtheus in a locked chest to* Pandrosus, Aglaurus, and Herse, with a command not to open it. Herse and Aglaurus break the command, see a snake in the chest, and throw themselves down from the rock of the citadel.[2] The snake signifies the birth of Erechtheus from the earth, and the Athenians believed that a snake, for whom every month a honey-cake was placed as an offering, protected the Erechtheum, *i.e.* the temple of the goddess of the citadel on the Acropolis. The leaping down of Aglaurus and Pandrosus from the rock of the citadel could only have been invented after these names had been separated from the goddess, and their origin had been forgotten. Pandrosus had no part in this leap, because a special chamber in the Erechtheum belonged to her. Aglaurus, on the contrary, had a sacred shrine under the north-east precipice of the citadel rocks. Moreover, there served in the Erechtheum besides the regular priestess of Athena, who was a maiden of the race of Butes, two maidens who were changed every year. At the feast of the Arrephoria, the priestess ordered these maidens to take closed vessels, the contents of which were kept secret, from the citadel to the Ilissus, at which they arrived by means of a natural but hidden passage in the rocks; their two successors, on the other hand, carried the closed vessels from the Ilissus to the

[1] *Odyss.* 7, 81.
[2] Eurip. *Ion.* 271 ff; Plato, *Timæus*, 123; *Critias*, 110

citadel.[1] From these elements the tradition of the Athenians invented the locked chest, the obedience of Pandrosus, the disobedience and fall of her sisters.

Of Erechtheus himself the legend tells nothing, except that he fought against the king of the Ionians from Eubœa,[2] Chalcodon, *i.e.* the bronze tooth of Chalcis—Chalcodon had an altar in Athens, near the Peiræan gate—and against the prince of Eleusis, Eumolpus. An oracle assured him of victory if he would sacrifice one of his daughters; he offered the youngest; the others on this killed themselves. Erechtheus overcame Eumolpus in single combat; a bronze statue on the Acropolis represented Erechtheus striking down Eumolpus.[3]

The conflicts with the Eubœans as well as the Eleusinians are of later invention. The former is concocted, and for definite ends, from the Heroon of Chalcodon at Athens; Chalcodon being involved in many ways with the legend of the heroes;[4] the war against Eleusis, from a struggle, certainly ancient, between the commonwealth on the Rharian plain, and that which formed itself around the Cecrópia. Erechtheus was neither a prince nor a warrior, but a spirit of the fruits of the earth and of good harvests,[5] of the seed which Athena makes to prosper and to sprout; she herself has carried him into her temple, there to bring him up. Thus the shrine of the goddess might come to be called after her favourite, and the shrine

[1] Pausan. 1, 27, 4; Harpocration, Ἀρρηφορεῖν. Δειπνοφόρος.

[2] Eurip. *Ion.* 58, 296; Plut. *Thes.* 5, 27.

[3] Eurip. *Ion.* 275 ff; Philoch. *Fragm.* 33; Apollod. 3, 15, 4; Pausan. 1, 27, 4. The addition that the conquered man was not Eumolpus, but his son, merely shows that the Eumolpidæ did not wish to see the father of their race himself vanquished.

[4] Pausan. 8, 15, 6.

[5] Benfey gives the etymology ἐρετ-χθεύς = earth-tiller.

of the divinity who protected the city might receive the name of the Erechtheum. The legend of Erechtheus and of the daughters of Cecrops grew up out of the mythus and the agrarian worship of a people devoted to agriculture in a country not very productive.

Erechtheus, the legend proceeds, was followed by Pandion. He was driven out by the sons of Metion, Dædalus and his brothers, and fled to Megara, but his sons Ægeus, Pallas, Lycus, and Nisus, with an army from Megara, expelled the Metionidæ, and divided Attica into four parts, which they governed. According to another version, it was Pandion himself who divided the kingdom among his four sons.[1] Ægeus received Cecropia; Lycus, the "garden land opposite Eubœa," *i.e.* the region of Marathon; "the hardy Pallas who nourishes giants," the land in the south; Nisus, the sea-washed coast under the rocks of Sciron, *i.e.* the isthmus with Megara.[2] Ægeus expelled from the territory of Marathon his brother Lycus, who now went to the east, and gave his name to Lycia.[3] When Ægeus was once staying at Trœzen with King Pittheus, he lay with Æthra, the daughter of Pittheus. The boy whom she bore grew up at Trœzen, and when he became a youth journeyed to his father at Athens. On the way from Trœzen to Epidaurus he killed the robber Periphetes; on the way from Epidaurus to Megara, Sinis; and on the way from Megara to Athens, Sciron, who, on the narrowest part of the road over the isthmus, threw travellers from the rocks into the sea. Theseus did the same to him. Where the Cerata mountains sink into the plain of Eleusis, lived

[1] Pausan, 1, 5, 3, 4; 7, 4, 5; Heracl. Pont. *Fragm.* 1 M; Apollod. 3, 15, 5.
[2] Sophocles, ap. Strab. p. 392.
[3] Herod. 1, 173.

Damastes (*i.e.* the tamer), who mutilated travellers. Theseus retaliated upon him. Theseus overcame in wrestling Cercyon, king of Eleusis, and placed his grandson Hippotheon, whom Cercyon had repudiated, on the throne of Eleusis. His father's brother Pallas, who governed the south of Attica, which he held with Minos, had fifty sons, all giants and wild warriors; Theseus conquered these Pallantidæ at Gargettus and at Sphettus, on the slope of Hymettus, and slew Pallas.[1] The other deeds of Theseus—the conquest of the bull of Marathon, and of the bull of Cnossus, the conflict with the Amazons, who, after concluding a treaty, left Athens—we have already spoken of (p. 65).

Theseus, after all these fights, ruled alone over Attica; but Menestheus, son of Peteus, grandson of Orneus, the son of Erechtheus, roused the people or the nobles against him, because he had taken away from them the sovereignty over their communities. Theseus was forced to yield to an insurrection and to flee from Attica. He brought his sons Demophon and Acamas to Eubœa to Elephenor, king of Chalcis, and went to the island of Scyros. Here he accidentally fell from a rock into the sea, according to one account; according to another, Lycomedes, the king of Scyros, threw him down; according to a third version, Theseus was buried at Scyros.[2] After the fall of Menestheus before Troy, Demophon, the son of Theseus, became king of Attica.[3]

[1] Philoch. *Fragm.* 36 M. In Diodorus (4, 60), the sons of Pallas held it with the son of Minos, Androgeos; and for that reason Ægeus causes Androgeos to be slain (p. 66).

[2] Unless this version had existed, his remains could not have been sought or found in Scyros.

[3] Plut. *Thes.* 35; Eurip. *Heracl.* 35; Philoch. *Fragm.* 48 M. Diodor. 4, 62.

There was a temple at Athens to Ægeus, the reputed father of Theseus.[1] Theseus' careless steersman, having forgotten to put up the preconcerted signal of a happy return from Crete,—a white sail instead of a black, under which the ship had sorrowfully put to sea,—Ægeus threw himself from the promontory of Sunium into the sea. On this promontory stood an ancient shrine of Poseidon.[2] Ægeus is Poseidon himself. At Ægæ, in the depths of the sea, according to the Homeric poem, stood the palace of Poseidon.[3] Ægeus is the name of Poseidon, taken from the motion of the waves, from which also the Ægean Sea has received this appellation. The Trœzenians, who were zealous worshippers of Poseidon (their town is said to have been originally called Poseidonias),[4] showed Pausanias the place where Poseidon had embraced Æthra. When Minos in Crete objected to Theseus, that he was not the son of Poseidon, Theseus sprang into the sea and brought out the golden wreath of Amphitrite in proof of it,[5] and when Theseus, like his father at Sunium, threw himself from the rocks of Scyros into the sea, the original meaning of this legend no doubt was that the hero after the completion of his appointed task returned to his father in the depths of the sea. The possessions of the posterity of Theseus in Attica, the Thymætadæ, lay in the territory called after them, at the foot of Ægialus, which divides the plain of Athens

[1] Pausan. 1, 22, 5.

[2] Ross's *Inselreisen* 2, 4; *Odyss.* 3, 278; *C.I.G.* No. 162. Herod. 6, 78.

[3] *Odyss.* 5, 381. *Il.* 8, 203, 13, 21 ff.

[4] Pausan. 2, 30, 6, 8.

[5] This scene was represented in the pictures of Micon in the temple of Theseus, Pausan. 1, 17, 2, 3. Plut. *Thes.* 6, 36.

from that of Eleusis, on the Bay of Phoron; here it would seem were the oldest docks of the Athenians.[1]

We have seen above, in the legend of King Porphyrion, in the bull of Marathon, and the cult of Heracles in that region, in the transplanting of Dædalus to Attic ground, the dominion of the Dædalids and of Minos, over Attica, in the funeral festival of Eurygyes, in the Thargelia, in the battle with the Amazons and their monuments, in the remains of the sites in the rocks of Melite, unmistakable traces of Phœnician colonisation on Attic soil at Melite and Marathon. The Dædalids drive out Pandion, son of Erechtheus—*i.e.* the Phœnicians of Melite bring the Cecropia also, the seat of Erechtheus, into their power; they rule on the east coast of Attica as on the west. Ægeus comes from Megara, and drives the Danaids from the Cecropia; he drives out Lycus—*i.e.* the man from the land of light, the East (the Phœnicians), from Marathon. Theseus comes from Trœzen in order to conquer Pallas with his sons, "who side with Minos," to subdue the bull of Marathon and the bull of Cnossus, to overcome the Amazons—*i.e.* to conquer Melite.

Nothing in the legend is more certainly invented than the division of Attica into four parts under the four sons of Pandion; nothing is more certain than that the division—*i.e.* the state of dividedness—is the original, the more ancient condition; and the state of unity the later. Attica grew together out of its territories—from the old agricultural community that formed itself around the Cecropia, from a second that grew up on the plain of Eleusis, from the shepherd race that pastured their flocks on Mount Hymettus

[1] Plut. *Thes.* 19.

and on the mountains of the southern point, lastly from the region of Marathon: The combination of these territories which the Attic legend designates by the names Ægeus and Theseus was accomplished, *according to* the same legend, in connection with the expulsion and *overthrowing of the Phœnicians. This connection seems* very credible; and that the Attic peninsula formed *one* commonwealth, when the period of the migrations arrived, cannot be doubted on any tenable grounds.

According to the indications of the legend, the freedom, the union of the Attic territories, came from the south. Ægeus, from Megara, wins back the Cecropia, Theseus comes from Trœzen. From this it would seem that an Ionian race, or Ionian races, from the isthmus and from Trœzen, intermeddled with the destinies of Attica, as it is said to have been Ionians from Sicyon who overcame the Cadmeans, *i.e.* the Phœnicians from Thebes (p. 98). The Attic legend had no interest in placing the origin of the princely house, to which the land owed the conquest of the Phœnicians and the union of its territories, outside of Attica. The subsequent flight of Trœzenic tribes before the Dorians, who settled in Attica, at Anaphlystus and Sphettus,[1] might possibly have given a motive for it. Still more definitely than the legend of the derivation of Theseus from Trœzen, the cult of Poseidon side by side with that of Athena on the Cecropia (in ancient times, as we have seen, Athena was essentially the goddess of agriculture), indicates that a princely house once governed here, especially devoted to the worship of Poseidon. Ægeus is Poseidon; Theseus is the son of Poseidon; the founding of the sacrifice to Poseidon on the isthmus is

[1] *Infra*, Book 2, chap. 3.

ascribed to Theseus; Trœzen was said to have been anciently called Poseidonias, and we know for certain that the Ionians on the shore of the Corinthian gulf, the Ægialieis, even before the period of migration, especially invoked Poseidon. Accordingly, it must have been a race originally from the seashore that brought the worship of Poseidon to the agricultural people of the Cecropia. The importance of this worship must have increased when tribes from Pylus fled to Attica, who also revered Poseidon as their lord and protector, when one of these came to the Attic throne, and when the Ægialieis were pressed from the north shore of the Corinthian gulf towards Attica.

The placing of Poseidon on the Cecropia beside Athena justified the Attic legend in telling of the strife of Athena and Poseidon about Attica. Poseidon opens on the Cecropia, with his trident, a fountain in the rock; Athena makes the olive-tree grow on the rocks of the citadel, and thereby maintains the citadel and the country. The olive-tree on the citadel was the most ancient spot on which the agriculturists on the Ilissus, the Cecropidæ, worshipped Athena, that she might give to the land rain, dew, and blessing, and to the olive-tree fruit. A cavity in the rock full of water was the fountain which Poseidon had here opened. Poseidon's claim on the tutelary lordship over Athens was satisfied with having a chamber in the Erechtheum, in the house of Athena, apportioned to him, in which a priest "of Poseidon and Erechtheus officiated."[1]

The community which formed itself around the Cecropia had based its life upon the culture of the soil.

[1] The inscription on the seat in the theatre: ἱερέως Ποσειδῶνος γαιηόχου καὶ Ἐρεχθέως. Pausan. 1, 26, 6.

Athena had carried Erechtheus up to the Cecropia; Butes, the brother of Erechtheus, had invented the art of driving oxen and guiding the plough; the descendants of Butes had to protect the Erechtheum and to furnish the priestess. Beneath the Cecropia lay the sacred field which the Buzygæ had to till every year in autumn with the holy plough. On the other side of the mountain Ægaleus—between this and the Cerata Mountains, in the plain of Eleusis, was a second community of agriculturists who worshipped Demeter, the spirit of the mother earth, as their protectress. To the King of Eleusis, Celeus, according to a hymn sung in the second half of the seventh century, came Demeter, and taught to him and Triptolemus and Eumolpus, princes of Eleusis, her sacrifices and rites of consecration. On the Rharian plain, near Eleusis, the first barley is said to have grown; here they showed the threshing-floor and the altar of Triptolemus,[1] on which, to him, the first plougher and the first priest of Demeter, were brought the offerings due to heroes; for, according to another version, it was Triptolemus, the son of Celeus, to whom Demeter had shown the plough, had brought the seed of corn, and had taught agriculture. In this, as it would seem later, conception of the legend, Triptolemus follows Celeus, and Celeus Eumolpus, *i.e.* beautiful singer, who knew how to sing beautiful hymns to Demeter.[2] After Eumolpus had fallen in battle against Erechtheus, Cercyon ruled in Eleusis.

The life of the race occupying the south of the Attic peninsula, Hymettus and the heights connected with it, as far as the promontory of Sunium, was different from that in the north of Attica. The nature of

[1] Pausan. 1, 38, 6.

[2] Cf. Androt. *Fragm.* 34 M.

this region hardly permitted of agriculture; the population was thrown upon its flocks and herds; the scanty herbage scarcely afforded more nourishment than was sufficient for goats. Predatory excursions, therefore, against the agriculturists on the Ilissus, against the Cecropidæ, who during such incursions sought and found refuge on the Cecropia, must compensate for it. The legend regards this region as sacred to Pallas, the bringer-up of giants. It was not only the robber nature of the shepherds in the southern mountains which caused the legend to set over them the giant Pallas as their ruler, but also the worship of the warrior maiden Athena, Pallas Athena, whom the shepherds of Hymettus and Sunium invoked as their helper and protectress. Pallas signifies "brandisher," she who brandishes the spear, *i.e.* the lightning flash, against the dark clouds, who kills these dark-bodied dæmons of the sky with the spear.

The forming of the agricultural communities around the Cecropia under the protection of Athena, around Eleusis under the protection of Demeter, and the community of shepherds in the south under the protection of Pallas—this is the oldest known fact of Attic history. The arrival of the Phœnicians, their colonisation of Marathon from Eubœa, the overthrow of the son of Erechtheus on the Cecropia by the Dædalids, *i.e.* their settlement on Melite from Salamis —is the second known fact of Attic history. The third is the overthrow of the Phœnicians, the freeing of Attica, and the union of the territories through a warlike race of princes of Ionic, it is true, but not of Attic, descent. The legend conceals this third fact under the names and deeds of Ægeus and Theseus. Ægeus and Theseus come from Megara, from the

isthmus; Theseus overcomes Cercyon, King of Eleusis; the Amazons who had surrounded the Areopagus with walls and towers (p. 64) are overthrown, *i.e.* the Phœnicians are forced out of Melite; the Pallantidæ are conquered; the union of the three territories gives power to the new commonwealth to kill the bull of Marathon, *i.e.* to expel the Phœnicians from Marathon also, and to annex the territory of Marathon. As the dominion of an Ionian race brought the worship of Poseidon to the Acropolis, so the alliance of the community of Eleusis brought the Eleusinian Demeter, not, indeed, up to the Acropolis, but near it. She received a sacred shrine to the east under the citadel; also the goddess of the south country, Pallas, receives a temple on the Ilissus, the wooden image of which the legend afterwards derives from Ilium. Cecrops-Erechtheus, the founder, is succeeded by Ægeus-Theseus, the liberator and uniter. These four names are, with those of Triptolemus and Eumolpus, and lastly that of Pallas, the only genuine names and personalities of the ancient Attic legend.

"In the days of Cecrops and the first kings down to the reign of Theseus,"[1] says Thucydides, "Attica was divided into communes, having their own town-halls and magistrates. Except in cases of alarm the whole people did not assemble in council under the king, but administered their own affairs, and advised together in their several townships. Some of them at times even went to war with him, as the Eleusinians under Eumolpus with Erechtheus. But when Theseus came to the throne, he, being a powerful as well as a wise ruler, among other improvements in the administration of the country, dissolved the councils and

[1] Thucyd. Jowett's Translation, 2, 15.

separate governments, and united all the inhabitants of Attica in the present city, establishing one council and town-hall. They continued to live on their own lands, but he compelled them to resort to Athens as their metropolis, and henceforward they were all inscribed in the roll of her citizens. A great city thus arose, which was handed down by Theseus to his descendants, and from his day to this the Athenians have regularly celebrated the national festival of the Synœcia or 'union of the Communes' in honour of the goddess Athena. Before his time, what is now the Acropolis and the ground lying under it to the south was the city. Many reasons may be urged in proof of this statement. The temples of Athena and of other divinities are situated in the Acropolis itself, and those which are not lie chiefly thereabouts; the temples of Olympian Zeus, for example, and of the Pythian Apollo, and the temple of Earth, and of Dionysus in the marshes, in which the more ancient Dionysia are celebrated. . . . In the same quarter are other ancient temples; and not far off is the fountain now called Enneacrounos, or the Nine Conduits, from the form given to it by the tyrants, but originally, before the springs were covered in, Callirrhoë, or the Fair Stream. The water of this fountain was used by the ancient Athenians on great occasions; and at marriage rites and other ceremonies the custom is still retained. To this day the Acropolis or Citadel is called by the Athenians Polis or City, because that neighbourhood was first inhabited." Plutarch says: "Theseus made one people out of the inhabitants who had hitherto been separated, and erected for them all a common Prytaneum in the place where now the citadel stands; and he called the city Athenæ, and introduced the

common offering of the Panathenæa."[1] Though much of the account in Thucydides of the cessation of the divided assemblies may belong to the conception of later times, the fact of the union of the communes of the Cecropia, of Eleusis, of the south country, and of Marathon, before the Doric migration, cannot be called in question. When the Dorians invaded the Peloponnesus, and the Ionians journeyed from Ægialus through Attica to the Cyclades on the coast of Asia, there was only one Prytaneum, *i.e.* one king's house in Attica (it stood under the citadel): from this hearth the emigrants took holy fire to their new home, and Attica would scarcely have been able to withstand the attack which proceeded from north to south, if its powers had not been combined. It is likewise certain that the territories now united with the communes of the Cecropidæ, though the Cecropidæ may still have had the first rank, were regarded not as subjects, but as members of the whole, possessing equal rights, that their peculiar arrangements were left to them, and that their local cults remained undisturbed and inviolate. From this state of things it came about that the families who in either of the four districts occupied a prominent position either through warlike deeds or knowledge of sacrifice and of sacred songs, grew up into separate unions and separate corporations. Such is the origin of the four Attic tribes, which were distinguished by the names of the Geleontes, Hopletes, Argadeis, and Ægicoreis. They were called "tribes," because the families of each of the four districts, connected together from antiquity, ascribed to themselves the same origin, and felt themselves related. The name of the first tribe in this list, in the traditional order of rank, that of the Geleontes, we may

[1] Thucyd. 2, 15. Plut. *Thes.* 24, 32.

venture to refer to the races of priests and warriors of the Cecropidæ; it seems to signify the shining ones.[1] That of the Hopletes, *i.e.* of the armed people, indicates the tribes of Marathon;[2] the Greeks say they learned the use of armour from the Phœnicians. That of the Argadeis, the cultivators of the soil, we may give to the zealous agriculturists of Eleusis. Lastly that of the Ægicoreis, *i.e.* of the goat herds, must belong to the possessors of herds in the south. Combined into these territorial communities within which the related families, the tribes, held together,[3] those whose possessions obliged them to live by their weapons, and those who for ages had brought certain offerings, and knew the ritual and sacred hymns, surrounded the king to hold counsel with him, to share his meals, to accompany him to the field: they presented the accustomed offerings in their districts, they represented their districts at the general sacrifices in the council and judgments of the king; the peasants of the districts were primarily referred to their protection in matters of justice, and to their knowledge of sacrifices, if they desired to share the favour of the gods.

The more ancient portion of Attic tradition has undergone successive and considerable changes. The four names which preceded Theseus (Cecrops, Erechtheus, Pandion, and Ægeus), and in the tradition signify the oldest rulers, were the only names which Athens

[1] Ζεὺς γελεῶν, "the beaming Zeus." γελεῖν = γελᾶν = λάμπειν. Ross, *Demen*, p. 7.

[2] Hopletes has also been derived from "maker of implements," a derivation not much in keeping with noble races; Argadeis = agriculturists in the service of Demeter; and Ægicoreis, as possessors of herds, seem less unsuited, at any rate, to such a position.

[3] Hesiod, *Opp.* 342 ff.

knew in the sixth and fifth centuries before Christ, and until almost the end of the fifth century. Only these four kings were at the disposal of Cleisthenes when he formed his new tribes, and called them after the kings and heroes of antiquity. Even Herodotus knows only of these four. His younger contemporary Hellanicus knew better. He represents Cecrops as followed by Cranaus, a name which he borrowed from the ancient and particular names of the inhabitants of Attica; after Cranaus he placed Amphictyon, borrowed from the legend of the sons of Hellen: Amphictyon was succeeded by Erichthonius, *i.e.* the good land, a sort of reduplication of Erechtheus. After Erichthonius, according to Hellanicus, came Pandion, and only then Erechtheus, followed by Cecrops II. and Pandion II., and the last by Ægeus. With the help of these reduplications, the four ancient kings have become nine. Cecrops was said in later times to have combined the Attic land into twelve communes, a number taken from the subsequent twelve Phratries of the four Attic races.[1] When the legend of the origin of the Hellenes from the sons of Hellen—Æolus, Dorus, and Xuthus, and the sons of Xuthus, Ion, and Achæus—had been adopted, in recounting the battles of Erechtheus against Chalcodon of Chalcis, it was added that Xuthus had come to his help in that war, and for this had received in marriage Creüsa, daughter of Erechtheus, who at the sacrifice of the daughters of Erechtheus can only just have been born.[2] The fruit of this marriage, Ion, then became king of the Ægialieis; and coming to the help of his grandfather Erechtheus, gained for him the victory against the Eleusinians. No one dared to enrol Ion

[1] Philoch. *Fragm.* 11 M. [2] *Supra*, p. 75; Eurip. *Ion*, 57 ff.

himself in the royal line of Attica.[1] Herodotus is content with naming him the leader of the Athenian army. Even the logographers and genealogists abstain from this, although Hellanicus had brought Amphictyon, the late invented son or grandson of Deucalion, into the Attic list of kings, and that list is not otherwise wanting in bold combinations. But Herodotus already makes the four Attic tribes originate from the four sons of Ion: Geleon, Hoples, Argades, and Ægicores, however transparent the fiction of this derivation may be.[2]

When the Ionians who migrated from Attica had occupied the Cyclades and had knowledge of the worship of Moloch carried on in Crete, and Minos of Crete had become the Greek expression for the naval dominion which the Phœnician exercised on the Ægean Sea and its coasts, the deeds of Theseus were transferred from Marathon to Crete. Before his embarkation for Crete he is said to have gone with the olive-branch of the suppliants, together with the children appointed as the offering to the bull-god, into the temple of the Delphian Apollo, the Delphinium, which lay south-east under the acropolis, to implore the protection of the god, and then to have embarked on the 6th day of Munychion (April). Apollo Delphinius is the guide and protector of ships on the sea. On the 6th of Munychion the Athenians celebrated the Delphinia. Maidens with the olive-branch of suppliants went into the Delphinium to propitiate the god and to entreat that he would now with the spring be gracious to mariners, and send his light, glad and clear,

[1] Herod. 5, 66.
[2] Herod. 8, 44; 7, 94; 5, 66. Philoch. *Fragm.* 83 M. Eurip. *loc. cit.* 1579 ff.

to shine upon the sea. The navies of Athens, even in later times, were not accustomed to set sail before this festival. Besides this pilgrimage, the founding of the Delphinia was also attributed to Theseus, and the festival had now received its historical background.[1] On the 7th Pyanepsion Theseus happily returned after having been absent the whole summer; again, with the rescued children of the Athenians, he went, as soon as he had landed, to the Delphinium in order to perform the vows which he had sworn to the god at his departure: and the mothers went down joyfully to the harbour, the Phalerum, to meet the children who had been saved. In autumn, when the olives and grapes had been gathered, in the beginning of November, the Athenians celebrated the Pyanepsia. The feast began with the Oschophoria, with a procession of youths (afterwards two from each tribe), who bore branches laden with clusters of grapes from the temple of Dionysus under the citadel to the harbour bay, the Phalerum; a procession of women followed them. Then the procession, amidst joyful hymns, returned to the city, and brought an olive-wreath with the ripe fruit hanging from it (the Eiresione) into the Delphinium.[2] The youths who bore this wreath were the children saved by Theseus; the women, their mothers who went out to meet them.

After Delos had become the common place of sacrifice for the Cyclades, and the Ionians on both sides of the Ægean sea, Theseus was said to have made his first offering here to Apollo, on his return from Crete. On the island of Naxos he then wickedly left Ariadne, who had helped him to conquer the Minotaur.

[1] Plut. *Thes.* 18. A. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, pp. 399, 400.
[2] Istri *Fragm.* 13; Plut. *Thes.* 22. A. Mommsen, *loc. cit.* 57, 273.

Ariadne is a divinity. That is already clear from the Homeric songs which represent Dædalus as erecting a dancing place, *i.e.* a sacred shrine for Ariadne, in Crete, where youths and maidens danced in circle.[1] The Greek settlers in Cyprus showed at Amathus the grave of Ariadne, and called the grove in which it was the grove of Aphrodite-Ariadne. Theseus himself is said to have erected two statues to Ariadne in Cyprus, and to have commanded the Cypriotes to offer sacrifices to her. When Theseus made his pilgrimage to the Delphinium, the god tells him to take Aphrodite for his guide, and when he is about to offer to Artemis-Agrotera the she-goat, which the Athenians sacrificed to that goddess before every warlike expedition, it changed into a he-goat, *i.e.* into the animal sacred to the Syrian goddess Ashera. The Naxians worshipped two Ariadnes — one with lamentations and sadness, the other with dances and rejoicing.[2] These are the two aspects of the Syrian goddess—the death-bringing goddess of war, Astarte, and Ashera who brings the joys of love. To account for the mournful worship, Theseus must leave Ariadne on Naxos; the cheerful side is explained by the Greeks by the story that Dionysus brought home the forsaken one and married her. Dionysus here takes the place of Melkarth-Cadmus, who overtakes and overcomes the banished Astarte, and celebrates a marriage with her, out of which spring desire and blessing.

At Aphidna in Attica, as at Therapne on the Eurotas, the Dioscuri were invoked, and, together with these helpful spirits of the first morning light, a goddess of Light called Helena. From this came

[1] *Il.* 18, 592. [2] Plut. *Thes.* 20.

the poetical legend—we can fix this legend as current about 700 B.C.[1]—that Theseus carried off Helena from her abode at Therapne, and hid her at Aphidna. But the Dioscuri brought back their sister. On this a reconciliation took place, and Aphidnus, prince of Aphidna, adopted the Dioscuri as his sons.[2] Hence followed the brothership in arms of Theseus and the Lapith Pirithous, and the story that the Pirithoidæ, in the times of the migration, fled to Attica from the lower Peneus, found refuge in the ranks of the Attic nobility, and assumed a position of the greatest importance. From this alliance of Theseus and Pirithous followed the share of Theseus in the combat of the Lapithæ against the centaurs, which belongs to the region of the mythus. As the legend of Heracles grew and developed, especially among the Dorians when they had made him the ancestor of their kings, so the deeds of Theseus, their hero, were magnified by the Ionians. He was involved in all the adventures and battles of antiquity, and, like Heracles, he is said to have gone down to the lower world:[3] so that it could be said, not without irony, among the Greeks of after times, "Nothing without Theseus." The Athenians traced not only the Synœcia, but the Panathenæa, the Delphinia, the Pyanepsia, and the offering on the isthmus, back to Theseus. He was not merely credited with the union of Attica, which the princely race bearing his name really accomplished by the overthrow of the foreign dominion; all institutions of which the Athenians were afterwards proud were said to have been derived from Theseus; he it was who

[1] Alcman, ap. Pausan. 1, 44; the representation of the rape on the chest of Cypselus, Pausan. 5, 19, 3, and *infra*, Book 4, chap. 8.
[2] Book 4, chap. 8.
[3] Hellanic. *Fragm.* 74; Philoch. 46 M.

divided the people into nobles, burghers, and handicraftsmen, allowed strangers to be received into the rights of citizens, and introduced the mild treatment of slaves; and lastly, was the founder of the democracy, in that he voluntarily laid down the kingly power, and reserved to himself only the leadership in war and the office of watching over the laws.[1] His supposed remains were brought, in the year 476 B.C., from Scyros to Athens, and there, in the neighbourhood of the Horkomosion, *i.e.* of the place where he had concluded the treaty with the Amazons, were buried; after which it became the custom that on the 7th Pyanepsion, the day on which he had returned from Crete, the offering of the dead should be presented to him at the Horkomosion, while, on the day before, offerings were brought to the Amazons.[2]

[1] Plut. *Thes.* 24, 25, 36. [2] Pausan. 1, 3, 2; 1, 17, 2; Plut. *Thes.* 36.

CHAPTER VII.

CHRONOLOGY.

THE Greeks in the more productive regions of the east had already attained to agricultural communities—this we have seen in the foregoing pages—when the Phœnicians landed on their coasts and established themselves on the Eurotas, at the mouth of the Inachus, on the isthmus, at Salamis, at Marathon and Melite, on Eubœa, on the Cadmea, and at Iolchus, and brought the territories of the Greeks under subjection to their colonies. The monuments, as well as the continuance of Phœnician cults, confirm the legends when they describe the valley of the Eurotas, the plain of Argos, Attica, and the regions of Thebes and Orchomenus, as pre-eminent centres of life in ancient times; the same regions which experienced the influence of the Phœnicians witnessed also their expulsion. With this began a new period of Hellenic development, which, in the sense of the legend and the Epos, may be designated as the Achæan period, in opposition to the Pelasgian; the time in which the Pelopidæ are said to have ruled at Mycenæ, the Adrastidæ at Sicyon, *the Thesidæ in Attica, which the Epos depicts as* the time of an agitated, heroic life, which extended from Pylus and Therapne over the isthmus, Ætolia, and Bœotia, as far as Mount Othrys and Mount Pelion.

Is it possible to fix even an approximate date for this period? It has been already observed that the Greeks were late in arriving at the use of writing; their most ancient written records cannot go back much farther than the year 800 B.C. Soon after this time the princes of the Greek cantons must have begun to make lists of their ancestors. Catalogues of the priests and priestesses in famous temples were perhaps then added to the genealogical tables of the princes. When, in the middle of the eighth century, in Athens, in Corinth, in other cantons, the nobility gained the upper hand of the princes, and functionaries, periodically changed, were placed at the head of the communes, the holders of these posts were regularly registered. At this time, and no earlier, began the registration of the victors in the combats and games of the common offering, which the Eleans, Messenians, and Achæans brought to Zeus and Hera annually, from the year 776 B.C.

In the seventh century the poetry of the Hellenes undertook to give a concise account of the rich contents of their heaven, which had already been considerably enlarged by the colonies of the Phœnicians on their coasts, and afterwards by their own settlements on the islands and the east coast of the Ægean Sea. The Theogony of the Bœotian poets, whose school venerated Hesiod of Ascra, on Mount Helicon, as its head and founder, brought the forms of the gods into genealogical connection. Afterwards this kind of poetry passed over into the collection and arrangement, for the honour and glory of antiquity, of the ancient races of the tribes which had sprung from the gods, the heroes descended from the gods, and the fathers of princely houses, who traced their pedigree to the gods;

that is to say, the whole contents of the legends concerning the descent of the tribes, the heroes, and the princes. Supernatural beings, nymphs of the springs, but for the most part mortal women, had been held worthy of intercourse with the gods, and, being embraced by a god, had given rise to this or that race. Thus grew up those two poems which received the name of the *Catalogue of the Women, i.e.* of the god-favoured ancestresses, and that of the *Eoæ*. The arrangement of the ancestresses could only be a very lax one. The poem must probably have been preceded by an introduction, to the effect that women like those of the old time, to whom the gods came down, walked no more upon the earth. Thus each section, as we see from fragments, might begin: "Or such an one (ἢ οἵη) as she who dwelt in the Dotic plain and bathed her feet in the Bœbeic Lake." This beginning, "or such an one," led up to the name of the poem.

These genealogical tables of the royal houses—these two poems of the school of Hesiod, which were brought to a close in the last third of the seventh century—the pedigrees of the foremost of the noble families who lived in the remembrance of their descendants, who were extravagantly proud of them—all these were found by the logographers who set themselves, from the middle of the sixth century, to relate the myths and legends of particular territories, the genealogies of their races and heroes, and the founding of communes and towns. In this manner wrote Charon of Lampsacus, Hecatæus of Miletus, Hippys of Rhegium, Acusilaus of Argos, Pherecydes of Leros, Hellanicus of Lesbos. The ancient history of the Hellenes consisted solely of their legends. If the logographers wished to find dates for the events

of their legendary history, they had at their command, for this purpose, only the order of the races recognised by poetry and legend, the tables of the princes, and the genealogical trees of the noble families. Hecatæus (about 520 B.C.) enumerated sixteen generations from his birth backward to the time when the gods had come down to the daughters of men; in the same way Pherecydes names just as many generations of Philaids, from Telamon, the father of Ajax, to Miltiades the conqueror of Marathon.[1] Even Herodotus, who set aside the legendary history, finds no means of ascertaining the time when Heracles lived, except by founding his calculation upon the list of the Lydian royal house, which traced his descent to the god Sandon, whom the Greeks called Heracles. To the line of rulers from Crœsus to Gyges, and from Gyges to Agron, who is called the fifth in descent from Sandon, he reckons the duration of four generations, and so comes to the result that Heracles lived 900 years before himself. Hellanicus also reckons by generations, as the fragments of his that have been preserved clearly show.[2] From this it is evident that there was no kind of chronological testimony in regard to the dates of events which took place before the commencement of the common offering at Olympia; and that all determinations of time, given by tradition for events before that date, are reckoned on the basis of the legendary pedigrees, the genealogical tables of the royal houses, and the genealogies of noble families. What other authority was it possible that they should have? Herodotus assumes thirty-three and one-third years for a race; others give to each generation only the duration of thirty years.

[1] Herod. 2, 143; Pherecyd. *Fragm.* 20 M. [2] *Fragg.* 53, 82 M.

There were, indeed, records which professed to reach back beyond the beginning of the Olympiads, *i.e.* before the year 776 B.C. Hellanicus not only saw and worked upon a later inventory—that of the victors in the contest of song at the Carnea of Sparta, the commencement of which is placed about the year 676 B.C.—but he also commented upon another, ostensibly reaching to the most ancient times—a catalogue of the priestesses in the temple of Hera on Mount Eubœa near Argos, and tried to arrange the events of antiquity according to the dates of these priestesses. In the third generation before the Trojan War, in the twenty-sixth year of the priestess Alcyone, he makes the Sicels migrate from Italy to Sicily; when Callisto was priestess, he says Ilium was taken by the Achæans.[1] The catalogue of the priestesses of Hera therefore not only gave their succession long before the year 776 B.C., it also gave the duration of each priestess's term of office. But whence did this catalogue get such knowledge of times so distant? If the Hellenes only began to write about the year 800 B.C. there could have been at that time only about three, or at most four, of the predecessors of the then officiating priestess held in remembrance: more than a century upwards it was hardly possible for names, and still less for the dates of office, to be retained in the memory.

From the Doric-Ionic colony of Halicarnassus on the south-west of Asia Minor, a register of the priests of the temple there to Poseidon of the isthmus, has been preserved, which was founded either before or contemporaneously with the city itself.[2] At the com-

[1] Dionys. Halic. *Antiq.* 2, 22; Hellanic. *Fragm.* 144 M.
[2] *C.I.G.*, No. 2655, and Bœckh's Commentary.

mand of the senate and people of Halicarnassus, about the second century B.C., this register was copied from the stone, which was set up in the temple of Poseidon, before the statues of Poseidon and Apollo, upon a new stone. The list begins with Telamon, the son of Poseidon, and ends with Polites, the son of Euæon. There are twenty-seven names, the connection of which shows that this priesthood at the temple of Poseidon was hereditary—that the son followed the father, and also the brother the brother. With each name is given the duration of its owner's term of office. Leaving out the mythical names, the son and grandson of Poseidon, with whom the list commences (the register of Argos also began with the names of Io, daughter of Inachus of Callithyia, grand-daughter of Argos, and of Hypermnestra, daughter of Danaus),[1] we find in the seventh place the name of Anthas, who, according to the tradition of the Greeks, is the founder of the city of Halicarnassus; the succeeding priests are, as the register shows, his descendants; it is a genealogy of the Antheadæ, of the race of the founder of the city, whose importance in Halicarnassus we know from other sources. The twenty priests who follow Anthas in the register reduce themselves, Anthas himself being included, to fourteen generations; the sum of their terms of office amounts to 414 years; including the priesthoods of the six mythical priests, the posterity of Poseidon, 504 years. The Halicarnassians maintained that their city was founded in the year 1174 B.C., and had existed from that time uninterruptedly,[2] in which calculation the 504 years of

[1] *Supra*, p. 82; Sync. p. 283, 296 B; Euseb. *Chron.* 2, 15, Schone.
[2] Tacit. *Annal.* 4, 55.

the priests of Poseidon must in any case have been included. If we deduct the ninety years' offices of the six mythical priests, Anthas, according to the reckoning of the Halicarnassians, would have founded their city in the year 1084 B.C., and the office of the last-named priest, Polites, would have ended in the year 670 B.C. About the time of Polites, to whom the list allows twenty-seven years, either under his own priesthood or that of his immediate successor, the ancient monumental stone must have been set up, and the register inscribed upon it; for what other reason should it end with Polites? Not to mention that Halicarnassus was founded later than 1084 B.C., records of the making of this register which go back farther than the year 800 B.C. could not have been available, if even the pedigree of the Antheadæ might be remembered for an earlier period. If, on the one hand, the erection of the ancient stone cannot be dated later than 600 B.C., on the other, it may be admitted that much more important reasons existed for its erection at an earlier period. Whence comes its information that Anthas officiated for seventeen years as priest in this temple, and Telamon, son of Poseidon, for twelve years? Whence have the logographers exact accounts of the dates of the kings' reigns in very ancient times, and of the mythical rulers? Hellanicus mentions to us, as we have seen, the twenty-sixth year of office of a priestess of Argos, who officiated before the Trojan War; and Hippys of Rhegium maintains that at Corinth, after Bellerophontes had left the city (p. 101), King Lycæthus had reigned twenty-seven years, and King Creon thirty-five.[1]

There is hardly any other solution of this riddle

[1] *Fragm.* 3 M.

except the conclusion that these dates of the reigns and terms of office of the ancient priests and priestesses are fabricated. We saw above that Herodotus proceeds from the well-known list of the Lydian kings; in order to go farther back, he takes the genealogy of the first ruler of this list as his basis, and reckons the beginning of the list, which is wanting, according to the generations observed in this pedigree. The lists of the kings of Argos, of Corinth, of Sicyon, of Sparta, were no doubt begun very early, probably before the fall of the monarchy; for the most part, therefore, in the first half of the eighth century. It was obviously the interest of these houses to preserve the memory of their ancestors, and to make known in records their ancient and honourable descent. The dates of the reigns of their immediate predecessors were still in remembrance, the genealogical register gave further knowledge, whether true or invented. From the point at which the remembrance of the rulers' dates ceased, the sequence of generations in the table was a great help upwards. The duration of a generation being fixed at thirty years, gave, with the sum of the generations, the point of commencement. As every king within the prescribed circle could not have reigned for thirty years, to one was given twenty-five years, to another thirty-five, to another twenty, to another forty. And the same procedure that applied to the unknown dates of the kings might be pursued with regard to the unknown periods of office of the priests; their office also was hereditary. In this manner the list of Halicarnassus and the list of the priestesses of Argos are regulated, at any rate in all dates of office reaching beyond the year 800 B.C.

We know not when the register was begun of the

royal house, which in the person of King Melanthus ascended the throne of Attica in the time of the migrations; this probably happened before the setting aside of the hereditary monarchy of the Melanthidæ, *i.e.* before the year 752 B.C. *The list contains* fifteen names—Melanthus, Codrus, Medon, Acastus, Archippus, Thersippus, Phorbas, Megacles, Diognetus, Pherecles, Ariphron, Thespieus, Agamestor, and Æschylus. In the third year after the death of Æschylus, *i.e.* in the year 752 B.C., Alcmæon, the fifteenth in descent from Melanthus, was deposed; a member of the royal house, chosen by the nobles, assumed the headship of the state for ten years. The dates of the reigns of Æschylus, Agamestor, and Thespieus, were probably still in remembrance at the time when this list was compiled; farther back their knowledge could hardly have reached. According to this, there were eleven generations as far as Melanthus to provide with dates, *i.e.* the sum total of 330 (11 × 30) years was to be suitably divided among these rulers. As Thespieus, Agamestor, and Æschylus, taken together, reigned sixty-five years, and Æschylus two years, the kingly power of the Melanthidæ in Attica must be fixed at 397 years (330 + 67). Melanthus consequently must have ascended the throne in the year 1149 B.C. (397 + 752).

In such a shape, with the ascription of definite dates to the predecessors of Thespieus, this list no doubt lay before the logographers. Hellanicus, who occupied himself much with the most ancient names and rulers, tried also to determine the reigns of the kings who were said to have ruled in Attica before Melanthus. It was no doubt in respect to the genealogy of the predecessors of Melanthus, which,

from Melanthus back to Deucalion, reckoned eleven generations,[1] in respect also to the more ancient lists of the kings of Argos and Sicyon, that the thought occurred to Hellanicus to increase the number of names known to Attic tradition before Melanthus. According to this tradition, there had reigned previously to Melanthus, Theseus, Menestheus, Demophon, Oxyntas, lastly the brothers Apheidas and Thymætas. These are six kings and five generations. Until the time of Hellanicus, as we have seen, the tradition only recognised four names—Ægeus, Pandion, Erechtheus, and Cecrops; consequently four generations before Theseus (p. 117) Hellanicus increased these to nine by doubling Cecrops and Pandion, associating Erichthonius with Erechtheus, and interpolating Amphictyon out of the legend of the sons of Hellen which came into vogue in the seventh century, and which he likewise revised.[2] He had thus attained the number of fifteen kings, *i.e.* exactly as many as had reigned out of the house of Melanthus; and fourteen generations, *i.e.* exactly as many as belonged to the Melanthidæ. To the last kings of the series before Melanthus, Apheidas and Thymætas, who were brothers, only one generation could be given; moreover, Thymætas had been deposed; Oxyntas and Demophon likewise, before them, could only receive one generation, for, after the banishment of Theseus, Menestheus had reigned instead of Demophon (p. 107). So these kings together only received sixty years; the last four Melanthidæ also had reigned but sixty-seven years. Since then Menestheus had fallen before Ilium, Demophon had succeeded to the government after his

[1] Hellanic. *Fragm.* 10 M.
[2] *Supra*, p. 118, Brandis, *de temp. Græc. Antiq. ration.* p. 14.

fall, and Melanthus had ascended the throne in 1149 B.C., the date of the fall of Ilium was fixed in 1209 B.C. (1149 + 60). There still remained eleven reigns to determine. As far as we can see, Hellanicus gave Menestheus only twenty-three years, to the ten princes before him, from Theseus to Cecrops, 350 years; *i.e.* to each thirty-five years, which had to be suitably divided. Cecrops accordingly had begun to reign in 1582 B.C. (1209 + 23 + 350.[1])

Herodotus determined the date of the Trojan War otherwise. We have already seen that the Lydian catalogue of kings, with the addition of four generations, led him to fix the date of Heracles 900 years *before his own time, i.e. about the year* 1350 or 1340 B.C. As Heracles lived two generations before the Trojan War, this war must necessarily be placed two generations after the end of Heracles; he fixed it, therefore, about 1270 B.C.[2] No doubt, *however, it was not the computation of Herodotus* but that of Hellanicus, for the Trojan War as for the Attic line of kings, which found acceptance. The oldest chronography that has been handed down to us—the Marble Chronicle of Paros, from the first half of the third century before Christ—arranges the events of the ancient time according to the list of Attic kings enlarged by Hellanicus: it begins with Cecrops, the contemporary of *Deucalion; makes* Danaus come to Argos in the reign of Erichthonius; ascribes to Erichthonius (like Hellanicus) the founding

[1] It is not necessary to enter into the dates given for Cecrops and Ogygus in Castor, Cecrops 1598; in Africanus and Eusebius, Ogygus 1020 years before the first Olympiad = 1795 B.C.

[2] In 2, 146, Herodotus places Pan, as the son of Hermes and Penelope, 100 years, *i.e.* three generations, after Heracles. The *Vita Homeri*, c. 38, places the fall of Ilium 790 years before the expedition of Xerxes, *i.e.* in the year 1270.

of the Panathenæa;[1] places the fall of Ilium in the twenty-third year of Menestheus, *i.e.* in 1209 B.C., and even in the month of Thargelion which Hellanicus had fixed;[2] and knows exactly what happened in the thirteenth year of the reign of Medon, the grandson of Melanthus, and in the twenty-first year of the reign of Æschylus, the last ruler but one of the race of Melanthus.

The recognition accorded to the arrangement by Hellanicus of the Attic list of kings did not extend to the additions which, as we have seen above, he had made in the earliest part of it anterior to Cecrops. He also rearranged the list of the ancient rulers of Argos. As, according to this, the commencement of the reign of Inachus was considerably before that of Cecrops, Hellanicus made a dynasty of six kings precede Cecrops,—Ogygus, Munychus, Periphas, Colænus, Porphyrion, and Actæus,—by which means about 200 years were gained. But Philochorus opposed this, saying that the names were fictitious, and the kings had not existed;[3] even the Marble Chronicle is content to begin with Cecrops, in the year 1582 B.C.

The lists of Argos and Sicyon were not drawn up much later than the Attic list of the Melanthidæ. The kings who reigned after the time of the migration to Argos wished to be considered the descendants of Perseus, of the Danaids, and of the supposed predecessors of the Danaids in the government; and since the legend of this descent, as will be seen later

[1] Hellan. *Fragm.* 65 M.

[2] Lesches says Ilium was taken at the full moon, and at midnight; this combination, according to Hellanicus, had only occurred in the year 1209, on the 12th Thargelion, *Fragm.* 143, 144 M.

[3] Philoch. *Fragm.* 8; Hellanic. *Fragm.* 62 M. In Castor there are 190 years between Ogygus and Cecrops, Euseb. *Chron.* 182, Schone

on, must have arisen in the first half of the eighth century,[1] and the princes of Argos stood, in the middle of that century, at the zenith of their power, we can with some certainty ascribe the catalogue to that time. The catalogue of Sicyon, which goes back even farther than that of Argos, was in existence at any rate before the end of the seventh century.[2] We know the elements and names from which this list is collected and compounded. Neither the names nor the system according to which the reigns that had to be divided among the several kings were measured—neither the list of Halicarnassus nor the dates in the Attic list by Hellanicus and the Marble Chronicle can lead to any tenable date for events that occurred before the Olympiads and previous to the year 800 B.C.

The careful enquirers of later times found themselves, like Herodotus and Thucydides, always thrown back upon the genealogies of legend and tradition and calculations based on these, in order to get chronological data.[3] Even the scholars of Alexandria knew not where to find any other landmarks for the dates before the beginning of the Olympiads. The list of the Spartan kings seemed to offer the securest basis, for there, from the foundation of the commonwealth, two royal houses had reigned side by side. The first sacrifice at Olympia was ascribed to the tenth year of Alcamenes, king of Sparta, of the house of Agis, who consequently must have come to the throne in 785 B.C. Before Alcamenes, eight generations had been recorded in the house of Agis, and the same number in the house of Eurypon; the dates of the reigns given to

[1] Book 2, chap. 1; Book 4, chap. 2, 13.
[2] Von Gutschmid, Jahn's *Jahrb.* 1861, p. 27.
[3] Thucyd. 1, 14; Herod. 7, 171.

them in the Spartan lists extend over 318 years, from the tenth year of Alcamenes, *i.e.* as far as the year 1103 B.C. (785+318). In this year, accordingly, Eratosthenes fixed the irruption of the Dorians into the Peloponnesus.[1] Between the irruption of the Dorians and the end of Eurystheus of Mycenæ, Herodotus had already reckoned 100 years, the period of the three successive descendants of Heracles—Hyllus, Cleodæus, and Aristomachus.[2] Thucydides reckoned these three generations at ninety years instead of a hundred, as Herodotus had done, and as the war of Ilium had lasted ten years he deducted ten years. In this way the interval between the taking of Ilium and the invasion of the Dorians was fixed at eighty years. Eratosthenes adopted this reckoning, and accordingly dated the taking of Troy and the invasion of the Dorians eighty years before the beginning of the Spartan monarchy, which to him is synchronous with the invasion of the Dorians in the year 1183 B.C. But these figures likewise have no claim to historical value. At Sparta two kings did not from the beginning reign simultaneously, nor when their genealogies came to be arranged could the dates of their reigns be remembered longer than two or three lives before Alcamenes.

Nor does Greek tradition afford to modern historians any other foundation than to Herodotus and Thucydides. We are at the most only in a position to carry out the calculation by successive generations according to a better standard. On the average of half a thousand years, the succession of rulers gives twenty-five or twenty-six years for each reign. If we undertake the estimate upon this principle, we shall

[1] Diod. 1, 5. [2] 9, 26.

find that the shorter the series the more uncertain will be the result, and that the longer the series the nearer will it approach to the actual duration. If we suppose nine full reigns in both the Spartan lines before the year 776 B.C., each must have an average duration of thirty-six and one-third years, which, though not impossible, is not very probable, if their dates are to reach from the year 776 to 1103 B.C. Herodotus reckons sixteen generations in the house of Agis and of Eurypon as far as Leonidas and Leotychidas, inclusive.[1] Leonidas fell in the year 480 B.C.; sixteen generations of twenty-five years would bring the beginning of the Spartan state to the year 880, at any rate not earlier than 900 B.C. In Attica, as we have observed, the rule of the Melanthidæ ended in the year 752 B.C., after fourteen rulers of this family are stated to have reigned there; their period, measured by the standard of twenty-five years, gives 1102 B.C. for the commencement of Melanthus' reign. According to this, the irruption of the Dorians into the Peloponnesus must be placed earlier than Eratosthenes dates it, for Melanthus, or his father Andropompus before him, being driven by the Dorians out of Pylus, fled to Attica and then became king. But is the length of the Attic list to be trusted? Irrespective of the absolute poverty of the tradition, which has nothing whatever to say of the doings of the eleven kings who reign from Medon to Alcmæon, could there have been fourteen reigns in Attica in the same space of time for which the Dorians of Sparta, Argos, and Corinth have at the most only eight or nine?[2] We are acquainted with the list of

[1] 7, 204; 8, 131.

[2] The Spartan list has been already discussed. The Corinthian list of Diodorus (Euseb. *Chron.* 1, 220, Schöne) has eleven generations as far as Automenes. But Aristomedes and Agemon are brothers; and

valley of the Eurotas. This theory is further strengthened by the following consideration: the table of nations in the Pentateuch showed us above that in the middle of the eleventh, or at any rate in the beginning of the twelfth, century B.C., the Greeks, not only in the cities of the Phœnicians but also in the interior of Syria, were known under the name of the Ionians. The Phœnicians, according to this table, had before this time discovered and visited the coasts of the Greeks. They found the Ionian race on the island of Eubœa, on the opposite coasts of the mainland round the Bœotian lakes, in Attica, on the isthmus, on the north-east coast of the Peloponnesus (p. 31). There is still more ancient evidence for the settlement of the Phœnicians on the coasts of Hellas, afforded by the fact that the Tyrians already, about the year 1100 B.C., had discovered the pillars of Melkarth. The Ægean Sea was doubtless, however, navigated by them before the west basin of the Mediterranean and the Straits of Gibraltar. Moreover, among the technical arts, the learning, the elements of culture, which the Greeks owed to the stations of the Phœnicians on their coasts, the art of writing cannot be included; only when the Greeks had established themselves on the islands of the Ægean Sea did they learn in those islands and in Crete the art of alphabetical writing from the Phœnicians. It would therefore appear that the Phœnicians, when they settled on the coasts of Hellas, were as little in possession of their alphabet as when they colonised Cyprus; that, at their immigration to the coasts of Hellas, as well as to Cyprus, they still employed their old manner of writing (from which the peculiar writing of the Cypriotes was formed), viz. the Babylonian cuneiform

character. As the use of the Phœnician character of letters dates from the eleventh century B.C., the coasts of Hellas about the year 1100 B.C. must again have been vacated by the Phœnicians. Their settlement on the shores of Greece must therefore lie between the time when Sidon colonised Cyprus (*i.e.* the year *1250) and the year 1100 B.C.* That *they were no* inconsiderable time on the Greek coasts is proved by the strong roots struck by their religious rites in the east cantons of Greece; the skill in architecture and sculpture, for which the Greeks were indebted to them, and of which we found evidence in the sepulchral vaults and the gate of lions at Mycenæ, the vaults at the Heræum, Menidi, and Orchomenus, at Pharsalus and Pharis. Thus it is evident that the Phœnicians, somewhere about the year 1200 B.C., settled on the shores of Hellas, and that about the year 1100 B.C., *i.e.* at the same time that they founded Gades in the far west, they must again have left them. Before the arrival of the Phœnicians, consequently before the year 1200 B.C., the Greeks in the eastern cantons had already attained to agricultural communities; after the expulsion of the Phœnicians from the Cadmea, Melite, and Marathon, from Eubœa and Salamis, from the isthmus, Nauplia, and Cythera, after the impetus which such conquests must have given to the warlike power of the Greeks,—therefore between the years 1100 and 1000 B.C., lies the period of the Pelopidæ and Theseids, the time which the *Epos* celebrates as the Heroic period, the period of the Achæans.

CHAPTER VIII.

RESULTS.

If we sum up what the origin of the people and their descent from the Arians allowed the tribes of the Greeks to import with them into the peninsula from the common stock of this family of nations; what the legacies of the settlements of a cultivated nation of different descent on the coasts of the peninsula, and the ancient monuments allow us to perceive; and what the examination of Greek legends yields, these considerations may enable us to establish with tolerable probability some features of the life of the Hellenes in times which they themselves have called the times of the Pelasgians and Achæans. From the north, the tribes of the Greeks, to the west of the central chain which traverses the upper half of the subsequent territory of the Hellenes, wandering southwards like the Goths and Slaves at a later date, arrived at the southern portion of the Balkan peninsula. On the Adriatic they occupied the coastland from the mouth of the Aous and the Ceraunian Mountains southwards; to the east of the central chain they reached the sources of the Haliacmon and the territories washed by the Ægean Sea. That the peninsula was populated before their arrival seems improbable from the unmixed character of their language; what is probable is the fact that on Eubœa, on the isthmus, on the peninsula which

bounds the Gulf of Argos on the east, they encountered Carians, who had landed here from the western Cyclades (p. 13). For the gradual colonisation of the peninsula there is evidence in the common repetition of names of places and rivers, which we find in the north as well as in the south; the name of Argos is met with northwards, on the eastern slope of the central chain, in the territory afterwards called Thessaly, among the Acarnanians and Peloponnesus; Inachus is found in Epirus and on the island of Pelops; the Peneus in Thessaly and what was afterwards Elis; the Cephissus in Bœotia and Attica; Larisa in the valley of the northern Peneus, on Mount Othrys, and on the Inachus; Orchomenus in Bœotia and in Arcadia.

The common notions of the Arian race concerning the beneficent spirits of light and the giving of water, and the wicked, harmful, destructive spirits of darkness, the immigrants brought with them into their new home. The high peaks they consecrated to the spirits of the clear sky. Like the Arians of Iran they sought the abode of the gods in the east; in the highest mountain summit in the north-east, Mount Olympus — rising nearly 10,000 feet, which now shone in clear brightness and was now veiled with clouds—they saw the image of the mountain of the gods, as the Arians on the Indus saw in the peaks of the Himalayas the image of Mount Meru, and the Arians of Iran in the high mountains of the east, and subsequently in Mount Demavend, recognised the image of Hara Berezaiti; on the green, well-watered declivity of Mount Tomarus they worshipped the water-giving god of the sky, and listened for his will in the rustling of his oak; here, according to the testi-

mony of the Homeric poems, and of Herodotus and Plato, was the most ancient oracle of the Greeks;[1] to *the god of the clear sky they consecrated the peaks of* the Arcadian mountains; to the god of light the rocky cone at the southern extremity of the isthmus.

The emigrants came with their herds and lived with them: the names Bœotia, Eubœa (which is repeated in the Peloponnesus on the Treton), show that they know how to prize good cattle pastures; we know how thought, speech, and poetry among the Arians on the Indus were bound up with their cows. *In* summer they must have driven their herds to the more airy *heights—to the lofty mountain pastures;* in winter they sought the warmer resorts by the coast. *But even agriculture was not quite unknown to the* immigrants; the comparison of the Arian languages *proved to us just now that the Greeks brought* with them, from their ancient home, words that already existed, not only for the members of a family, the house and household, and the domestic animals, but also for yoke and plough, for the fruits of the field, and for grinding corn. In the more fruitful regions of the east coast the pastoral life soonest made room for the *tillage of the soil; and agriculture won a place beside* the breeding of cattle on the lower Peneus in Thessaly, in the valley of the Spercheus, round the lakes in Bœotia, in the plains of Eleusis, and on the Ilissus, in the plain about the Gulf of Argos, and on the middle course of the Eurotas. The cultivators of the soil on the Peneus and Spercheus, like those on the Inachus and at Eleusis, invoked Demeter, the motherly Earth, to *bestow fruit on their labour; those on the Ilissus* worshipped the goddess of the water of heaven, who

[1] *Il.* 16, 234; Herod. 2, 55; Plato, *Phædr.* p. 275.

sent water from the sky in dew and showers upon their dry ground. These agricultural communities sought and found protection on moderate heights, which, in Thessaly, on the Peneus and in Phthiotis, and on the Inachus, were designated by the name of Larisa. These heights thus naturally became the altars on which the spirits regarded by the tribe as most ready to help were invoked. In this manner such shrines became the centres of the commonwealth.

The nature of the country had forced the families, enlarged into tribes, to take separate possession of the mountain pastures and valleys. At the head of the tribe stood the tribal chiefs, *i.e.* the descendants, the representatives of the oldest families of the community which was united by ties of blood; these settled the quarrels of their tribesmen and maintained peace in the tribe. Feuds and plundering expeditions against each other were not unfrequent among the tribes. When agriculture was introduced into these regions, the shepherd tribes of the mountains no doubt tried to gain possession of the fruit of the labour of the ploughman without trouble. If predatory expeditions became more common, attack and defence must have exalted the best warriors by the side of the tribal chief, and often no doubt into his place. The leaders in battle transmitted their honours to their sons, provided that these sons resembled them in astuteness and valour. Side by side with the heads of the tribes and the war princes stood the singers, who, by prayer and invocation, could call the gods to the sacrifice, and whose song and praise made the offerings efficacious with the gods. We know the belief of the Arians in the Punjab in the compelling force of the proper invocation over the spirits, in the power of the right

prayer and of devotion, and the belief of the Arians in Irân in the magic power of the genuine hymns of the fire-priests. The Greeks believed the same. Their legend of Orpheus, the father of hymns, as Pindar calls him, images forth the miraculous power and effects of the hymn that is pleasing to the gods. As befitted the representative of invocation, Orpheus is said to have belonged to the country at the foot of Olympus, the territory of Pieria; here his grave was shown. The sacrificial song could only have blossomed at the foot of Olympus, which was to the Greeks of old the image of the mountain of the gods, and to the singers of the *Epos* the divine mountain itself. Not merely invocation and prayer, but also augury, was known to Orpheus—he was a seer who knew the things of heaven. His song stopped the stream in its course, moved trees and rocks from their places, and compelled the beasts of the forest to follow him.[1] Out of the endeavour to call upon the god with the proper invocation and the right prayer, and to glorify him in the highest manner and best pleasing to himself, there grew up, at an early period among the Greeks, the contest of singers, *i.e.* the competition to praise the god best, to draw him down most surely to the sacrifice, to make the offering most pleasant to him; the awarding of the prize is the later form of the ancient,

[1] Pind. *Pyth.* 4, 176; Æschyl. *Agamemn.* 1630; Pausan. 9, 30, 3-5. That Orpheus was a Thracian could only have been maintained after the Thracians had come in from the east, and had taken Pieria from the Greeks (Herod. 7, 20; Ælian, *V. H.* 8, 6; and *supra*, p. 29). Of the prophetic power of Orpheus Philochorus spoke (*Fragm.* 190, 191 M). If Orpheus had not been regarded as acquainted with divine matters, the new doctrine of supernatural things which was introduced in the sixth century, could not have claimed him as a leader. The story of Orpheus' descent into hell, and of his being torn in pieces, belongs in the first instance to this doctrine which principally occupied itself with the resurrection.

urgent, and pressing invocation, to make the god descend and to cause him to be gracious. The good hymns, which had given success to the sacrifice, lived on in the families of the singers; as on the Indus, and among the families of the fire-priests of Iran, the knowledge of them descended from father to son. But it was not the singers who brought the offering: the house-father offered at his hearth for himself and the members of his household, the head of the tribe for his tribe, the prince for his people. The presentation of the sacrifice was held by the Greeks to be not incompatible with the wielding of the spear; only prayers and songs of praise belonged to the singer. While, on the Ganges, the growing belief in the miraculous power of prayer raised the singers to a degree of power above the kings and warriors, with the Greeks this distribution of sacred functions never allowed of the formation of an exclusive class of priests. That belief remained unadulterated in their more active and energetic life, and never became dogma. Certain offerings indeed, certain sacred acts, the care of ancient holy places, services at the ancient temples, were no doubt hereditary, as we have already seen, and associations of priests were probably formed in subsequent times at remarkable shrines, who preserved the tradition of the ritual and carried it on; but, like the hereditary priests, they also remained in the midst of the current of life—they never cut themselves off by a hard and fast line from the communes and their interests. The notions about the gods, as these were developed among the Greeks from the old common fundamental stock of the Arians, allowed of no special superhuman holiness either for the singers, however greatly they might be honoured as men inspired and favoured by the gods,

and however highly their prayers and hymns might be esteemed, nor for the hereditary priests. Though the singers, in possession of songs which assured the favour and grace of the gods, might maintain a prominent place beside the heads of tribes, the princes and the nobles, they could not rise above them. Out of this traditional and steadfastly-maintained division of sacred functions into offerings and invocation there resulted among the Greeks the free development of poetry, and the development of the communes, which last, in spite of assiduous piety, was little fostered by any hierarchical influence; sacrifice remained for the princes and invocation for the singers.

Pasturing their flocks in the mountain cantons,—in the more fertile tracts, tilling the ground as well as tending the herds,—the tribes being distributed over the peninsula in the manner shown above (p. 26), with tribal chiefs or warriors at their head, the singers with the princes and chiefs, looking up thankfully to the bright and water-bestowing spirits of the sky, and fearing the black and maleficent spirits, the various territories plundering and at feud each with the other —under some such conditions, in some such circumstances, we may picture the Greeks when, towards the year 1200 B.C., Phœnician ships from Crete and the Cyclades landed on the east coast. The Phœnicians sought purple shell-fish for their dyes, wool for their weaving, copper ore, and other metals. Themselves zealous and experienced in trade, and having long been in connection with Babylon and Egypt, they could offer the Greeks in exchange not only their own manufactures, but also the fabrics of Babylon and Egypt, the natural products of the east and south—beautifully-adorned vessels of pottery, vessels of brass,

delicate stuffs, ornaments of silver and gold, ivory and amber. The best weapons, the most beautiful garments, the most splendid vessels, the finest necklaces in possession of the Greek princes and their wives, are called in the Homeric poems works of the skilful artists, male and female, of Sidon. Purple shell-fish they found in considerable numbers on both shores of the Strait of Eubœa, at the mouth of the Eurotas, at the mouth of the Inachus; ore in the Eubœan and Corinthian mountains. The Phœnicians settled on Eubœa, on Salamis, on Minoa, in front of the isthmus; they planted stations on Cythera and on the coasts of the Laconic Gulf at Pyrrhiçus (p. 65); their commerce extended up the Eurotas as far as Amyclæ; on the Gulf of Argos, Nauplia, *i.e.* the town of ships,[1] according to the Greek legend the abode of the inventive Palamedes, seems to have been a station of theirs; on the isthmus itself they founded their colony on the height of Acrocorinth; farther to the north they sent out colonies from Salamis inland from the Gulf of Phalerum to Melite. From Styra in Eubœa they came over to Marathon; from Chalcis to the plain around the Bœotian lakes, where they built the Cadmea and extended their power to the other side of the lakes, to Orchomenus. From the northern coast of Eubœa, from Ædepsus, they spread into the Pagasean Gulf to Halus; their commerce extended from hence inland to Scotussa and Cynocephalæ (*sup.* pp. 77-78).

These colonies of the Phœnicians are the most ancient and important event in the history of the Greeks. In possession of all the culture of the ancient east, the Phœnicians confronted the youthful tribes of

[1] Strabo, p. 368.

the Greeks. With superior weapons and superior technical knowledge the Greeks saw these strangers practise a solemn cultus, in which asceticism and sensual desire, war-dances and human sacrifices, stood side by side. By the patterns which the Phœnicians brought them, the skill and artistic ability of the Greeks began to be brought into play. The works in pottery and bronze of Corinth, Athens, and Chalcis are clearly traceable to Phœnician patterns and teachers. The Greeks saw the architecture, the stone works of these strangers in the fortresses built by the Phœnicians to protect their stations at Nauplia, Melite, and on the Bœotian lakes. They learned the art of mining from them; they wished to gain for themselves the favour of the gods which made the colonies of the Phœnicians so successful. The Hellenes were never exclusive in their relation to their national gods; their extraordinarily lively fancy easily adapted itself to new conceptions; their quickly-aroused piety was always ready to accord worship to every divine being, and to gain the favour of each.

The Phœnicians, as we have already seen, spent no inconsiderable time on the shores of Hellas; from about the year 1200 B.C. to 1100 B.C. they probably were paramount on the east coast. Trade, sculpture, and architecture, require long practice to be appropriated at the primitive stages of culture, the pattern must stand long before the pupil's eyes before it can be imitated with success; the religious services of the Phœnicians must have been performed in those colonies decade after decade, in order to strike such deep roots that they could still continue to exist among the Greeks after the Phœnicians had long ago left the territories of the Hellenes.

From the Carians, with whom the Greeks had already come in contact, before the arrival of the Phœnicians,—in Eubœa, on the isthmus, on the north-east coasts of the Peloponnesus,—the tribes of the Greeks who had settled in Bœotia, in Attica, on the Bay of Argos, may have adopted the custom of raising conical funeral mounds to their departed princes. When the Phœnicians possessed Nauplia and Melite, the grave-chambers of Spata and Nauplia may have been hewn, the graves before the ancient citadel of Mycenæ behind the gate of lions may have been excavated, and burials made after the Phœnician fashion. The articles found in them prove beyond a doubt lively intercourse with the Phœnicians. In this intercourse the population in the Gulf of Argos must have been instructed; the power of their princes, probably by the very means they received from the Phœnicians, *i.e.* by the acquisition of better weapons and the knowledge of stronger fortifications, must have become more comprehensive, and grown to such an extent that they were able to surround the citadel of Tiryns, and the ancient citadel of Mycenæ with stone blocks in order to defend themselves in the end against the Phœnicians. The gravestones on the graves before the old citadel, behind the gate of lions, show us the princes buried here already employing war chariots; *i.e.* fighting in the manner described in the Homeric hymns as the fashion of ancient times. The Pelopids who succeeded those princes brought the struggle against the Phœnicians to an end.

Had the Phœnicians maintained themselves on the coasts of the Hellenes, the national development of the latter would have greatly suffered; it would indeed, as far as we can see, have been destroyed.

The east coast of the Greek peninsula would have fallen into dependence upon the harbours and coast-towns possessed by foreign masters, *i.e.* precisely those *territories most favoured by nature, which carried* Hellenic development to its highest point: the territories of the north and west only appear upon the scene when the first forces had been spent. The Greeks would have shared the fate which they themselves afterwards prepared for the Sicels. The Phœnicians lost their colonies in Hellas. How this second decisive crisis in Greek history was accomplished we do not know. Greek tradition gives only hints, and we can but conclude, from certain indications, that the Greeks of the east coast attained power in and from the school of the Phœnicians themselves to drive out the Phœnicians. It was the most fortunate turn that events could have taken; after experiencing every kind of incitement and stimulus, the Greeks returned the richer to their peculiar development. Of the Phœnician cults, after the departure of the Phœnicians, there remained merely local ceremonies, too unimportant by far to disturb the course of the national religious development; moreover, the intuitive faculty of the Greeks was sufficiently powerful and original enough to re-coin these foreign cults unconsciously in the national manner, and so to change them into their own possessions. As the tradition of the Greeks knows only of one settlement of the Phœnicians on their soil—the settlement at Thebes, so it scarcely knows of more than one encounter, one struggle with that settlement. This is most clearly seen in the legend of Ægeus and Theseus—of Ægeus, who wrested Marathon from the man of the east; of Theseus, who overcomes the bull of Marathon or the

bull of Cnossus, *i.e.* the cult of Baal Moloch, who conquers the Amazons. It is possible to interpret the treaty which Theseus concludes with the Amazons in reference to the retreat of the Phœnicians from Melite. We have seen the relation in which the departure of the Phœnicians from Attica stood to the union of the Attic communes into one commonwealth. It was this union, no doubt, which gave Attica the power of getting rid of the Phœnicians.

The same was the case in other regions of the east. As Theseus comes from the south of the isthmus for the liberation and union of Attica, the Pelopidæ came from the east of the Peloponnesus to Mycenæ. Here also the union of a great territory may have given to the princes of Mycenæ strength to drive the Phœnicians from their station at Nauplia and from their settlements on the Laconian Gulf. Thucydides says: "The Pelopidæ became greater than the Persidæ, who had ruled before them." Tyrtæus calls Pelops the "most kingly of kings." The traditions with one voice extol the treasures of Pelops; even Thucydides accounts for the successes of Pelops by his wealth. The Homeric poems call Mycenæ a city rich in gold.[1] With the tragic poets it is a lamb with a golden fleece, which Hermes gave to the Pelopidæ, and to the possession of which their rule is linked.[2] We may suppose that after the expulsion of the Phœnicians the new and enlarged citadel with the gate of lions, round the older citadel on the summit of the hill at Mycenæ, enclosing the graves of the ancient princes, was erected; and that now the old design of marking

[1] Thucyd. 1, 9; Tyrt. *Fragm.* 12, 7, B; *Il.* 7, 180.

[2] Euripid. *Orest.* 997 ff. On the supposed grave of Thyestes, on the road from Mycenæ to Argos, lay a ram, Pausan. 2, 18, 1.

the princes' graves by means of mounds in a conical form was again adopted, and carried out with the skill that had been acquired. The sepulchral vaults under the new citadel were raised in order to serve as burial-places for the kings and those belonging to the house of the Atridæ, while in Attica the sepulchral grave at Menidi was built.

In Bœotia the conquest of the Phœnicians must have begun from Orchomenus. The legend maintains that Orchomenus once ruled over Coronea, Haliartus, and Lebadeia, and that the princes of Orchomenus had made Thebes, *i.e.* the Phœnicians of the Cadmea, tributary.[1] Strabo says: "The Phœnicians of Cadmus possessed Bœotia; he surrounded the Cadmea with a wall, and left the government to his posterity. They built Thebes adjoining the Cadmea, and retained the dominion, ruling over the greater part of Bœotia, until the expedition of the Epigoni."[2] The expedition of Adrastus of Sicyon, the war of the seven heroes, and then the march of their sons against the seven-gated Thebes, were, according to this, directed against the Phœnicians of the Cadmea. Also in Greek poetry, Eteocles and Laodamas, the princes of the Cadmea, against whom these expeditions are directed, are the descendants of Cadmus. As the Pelopidæ came from the east to Mycenæ, and Theseus comes from the kindred Ionic tribes in the south of the isthmus to Attica, so from the kindred tribes in the south of the isthmus, and from Sicyon, help afterwards came to the Minyæ of Orchomenus; and warriors from Ætolia and Argos made alliance together (p. 97). Only after the second expedition, *i.e.* after a severe struggle, were the Phœnicians overthrown. Strabo tells us that the

[1] Strabo, p. 414; Pausan. 9, 34, 5; 9, 37, 2.

[2] Strabo, p. 401.

Minyæ founded a settlement on the Gulf of Pagasæ at Iolcus, *i.e.* had extended their dominion to this point; and we find the same family of princes ruling at Orchomenus, Iolchus, and Halus (p. 74). After the decisive victory the vault was built at Orchomenus for these princes, and near to it the grave-chambers were hollowed out in the rocks (p. 47).

The cults left behind by the Phœnicians when they quitted the coasts of Hellas, about the year 1100 B.C., continued to exist under another form. Instead of the mourning for Adonis, at Amyclæ on the Eurotas, there were the funeral ceremonies of Hyacinthus; on the isthmus the offering of Poseidon replaced the worship of Melicertes; vicarious usages took the place of the offering of children formerly brought to Astarte; instead of the propitiation of Baal Moloch, there was held in Attica the expiatory festival of Apollo Thargelius, and the funeral games of Eurygyes took the place of the laments about the early death of the son of Minos, *i.e.* of Adonis; Melkarth of the Cadmea became the hero Heracles of Thebes; at Orchomenus and Halus there was a longer continuance, but in a milder form, of the propitiatory offering which it had become the custom under the rule of the Phœnicians to bring out of the princely house of this region—the house of the Athamantidæ—to Zeus the Devourer.

The un-Arian Phœnician nucleus of all these cults is beyond doubt. If the Greeks were in a position to extract the good which they received in them from the transformations first alluded to, they must certainly have been able to practise independently certain skills and arts learned from the Phœnicians. In the deserted settlements of the Phœnicians, at

Athens, Corinth, and Chalcis, the arts of working in metal and pottery continued in existence: in the same way, the skill of the Phœnicians in building became common in other places where they had been long settled, and remained in use for some time.

The expulsion of the Phœnicians from the peninsula, was a most important victory. It must have given impulse and ardour to the spirit of enterprise and energy of the Greeks. It is certain that after the departure of the Phœnicians, the Greeks on the east coast themselves ventured out upon the sea. The treasures which, according to the *Iliad*, lay stored in the houses of Orchomenus could only have come there through commerce with the Phœnicians, and after their expulsion through the ships of the Minyæ. That there is ground for this praise of the ancient wealth of Orchomenus and of the riches of the Pelopidæ, is shown by the remains of the great vaulted grave of Orchomenus, and the sepulchral vaults, walls, and gate of the citadel at Mycenæ. The tradition itself ascribes to the Minyæ of Orchomenus a knowledge of navigation and voyages to distant lands. It can scarcely be accidental that the voyage of the Argo and the bringing back of the golden fleece is ascribed to the Minyæ of Iolchus, to the princely house of that country, and of the territory of Orchomenus. The voyage of the Argo never indeed took place; it is a mythus which is connected with the heavens. It has to do with the golden ram, *i.e.* the rain-cloud, which streams down in the height of summer, and fertilises the ground. The ram of the clouds is enchanted and carried off, and held in thrall in a distant land, by an evil spirit; a dragon like Ahi, and Vritra with the Indians, and Azhi-dahaka with the Iranians, carry off and conceal the

waters of the sky. A good spirit, son of Argos and an Oceanid,[1] and afterwards of Æson, Iasos or Iasios, Jason or Jasion, sails on the ship of the air, the Argo, *i.e.* the white, bright shining,[2] to fetch the ram. The course of the Argo is over the cloud mountains, the Planctæ, over which even the pigeons who bring Ambrosia to the father Zeus, can scarcely go.[3] Jason conquers the fleece of the ram, the rain-cloud; he cultivates the ground with the bulls "which out of their yellow mouth breathe flames of fire,"[4] *i.e.* with the lightnings of the storm in which the rain descends; he rests with Demeter in the thrice-ploughed fallow ground; the blessing of the field results from this union.[5] If events in the heavens were changed into a voyage of the heroes of old times to distant lands, they could only be consistently attributed to a race who early moved or had moved upon the sea. The Arian mythus of the freeing, the bringing back, of the water-clouds of heaven that had been carried off, is then combined with the expiatory offerings by which the Phœnicians had taught the Greeks to moderate the temper of Zeus Laphystius, *i.e.* Baal Moloch of the dog-days, with the atoning offering to Zeus Acræus on Mount Pelion (p. 75); and with the offerings from the princely race of the Athamantidæ of Halus and Orchomenus (p. 47).

Still clearer evidence for the early beginnings of navigation in the east cantons of Hellas is afforded by the connection in which we find Orchomenus, Athens, Epidaurus, Hermione, the island of Ægina, Nauplia,—

[1] Apollod. 2, 1, 3; Schol. Eurip. *Phœn.* 1151.

[2] G. Curtius, *Greek Etymology*, 1, 211.

[3] *Odyss.* 12, 59 ff. H. F. Perthes, *Programm. des Progymn.* Mörs, 1869, p. 11 ff.

[4] Pind. *Pyth.* 4, 225 ff. [5] *Odyss.* 5, 125; *Theogony*, 969-974.

no longer a Phœnician city,—and Prasiæ; these communes went together to the island of Calauria, in the Saronic Gulf, right opposite the north coast of the Peloponnesus,[1] to make common offerings to the god of the sea. We find likewise the twelve communes of the Ionic Ægialieis, who occupied the north-west coast of the Peloponnesus, associated in a common offering to Poseidon which was presented at Helice on the Corinthian Gulf, between the mouth of the Selinus and Cerynites; and after the Phœnicians had been expelled from the isthmus, the Ionians came from the north and south of the isthmus to sacrifice also to Poseidon; as it would seem under the guidance of the princes of Attica.[2]

The worship of another divinity led the tribes in the north, who dwelt on the Spercheus and Peneus, to common offerings. In the autumn, after the harvest was ended, a thank-offering was consecrated to Demeter, goddess of the fields, at Thermopylæ, at Anthela, near the mouth of the Asopus. It was not merely the Malians in whose territory the shrine lay; all the neighbouring tribes in the north and south

[1] Strabo, p. 374.

[2] The Parian Marble represents Theseus as having founded the Isthmian games, and even gives the date as 1259 B.C. That the antiquity of the worship of the Isthmian Poseidon by the Ionians extends beyond their migration is placed beyond a doubt, since the Ionians who emigrated from Trœzen to Halicarnassus practised this worship. The oldest temple in Halicarnassus is that of the Isthmian Poseidon, whose priesthood belonged to the Antheadæ (*supra*, p. 129). Hellanicus (Plut. *Thes.* 25) bears witness to a kind of proëdria of the Athenians; it would refer to the time when the Dorians had gained Corinth, and had continued this sacrifice, as well as all other services previously in existence there. The interruption of the sacrifice under the Cypselidæ which Solinus mentions (7, 14) is false, for it was Periander himself who in the year 587 added the games to the sacrifice (Book 4, chap. 4). The mention of the Isthmian games among the Athenians in the first place (Demosth. *De Cor.* p. 256, R) and the prize of Solon for the victors are evidence for the closer relation of Athens to this sacrifice.

joined in the offering; the Oetæans, the Dolopians, the Ænianians, the eastern Locrians, the Phocians, the Phthiotes; and of the tribes on the other side of the Othrys, in the basin of the Peneus, the Magnetes, the Arnæans, the race to which afterwards the name of the Pelasgians was attached, on the lower Peneus, the Hestiæans on its upper course, the Dorians, and the Perrhæbians on Mount Olympus.[1] There were twelve tribes who took part in the offering at Thermopylæ.

Though these common offerings in the north and south not only bear testimony to the worship of Demeter and Poseidon, but show a decided progress in Hellenic life, effected in the establishment of closer and more peaceful intercourse, on the ground of common worship among the several districts; though the common offerings of the Ionians in the worship of Poseidon at Helice and on the isthmus, and the common sacrifice at Calauria, show great improvement in navigation; though the common sacrifice of the northern tribes proves the importance which agriculture had attained, not merely among the tribes of the plain but also among those in the mountains—yet plunder, theft, and feuds, were not abolished by such means. Notwithstanding that the time of the offering of these

[1] The participation of these tribes must be assumed, as the Hestiæans and Arnæans, even after their expulsion from Thessaly, continued to take part in the sacrifice. The Thessalians were admitted for the Pelasgiotes. That the sacrifice goes back prior to the times of the migrations cannot be proved from the Parian Marble, which places their first founding in 1528 B.C. The reasons in favour of the theory are chiefly these: that the sacrifice was not offered on the territory of the Thessalians; that the tribes driven out by the Thessalians continued to participate; that the participators are called ἔθνη and not πόλεις, and the feast and assembly of Amphictyons, even when they were held at Delphi, "Pylæa;" lastly, the existence of the name of Pylagoræ borne by the representative of the tribes who took part in the council of the Amphictyons.

sacrifices was a time of peace, *i.e.* of truce, the pilgrims to these sacrifices, the princes, and envoys with the offerings, the singers and intercessors of the communes who took part in the ceremony, came and went in peace. "In ancient times," says Thucydides,[1] "all Hellenes carried weapons, because their homes were undefended and intercourse was unsafe . . . and the continuance of the custom in certain parts of the country proves that it once prevailed everywhere. . . . And when the Hellenes of ancient times began to find their way to one another by sea, they had recourse to piracy, partly as a means of increasing *their wealth* and partly to provide for their followers. The piratical *tribes plundered not only one another, but all those* who, without being sailors, lived on the sea-coast. They fell upon the unwalled *towns and villages*, and were not ashamed of such deeds, holding them indeed to be honourable; certain tribes on the mainland declare to this day that they carry on these exploits for the sake of glory. At that time they plundered one another also on the mainland; and so, even now, a great part of the Hellenes live in the old manner, as we find for example, among the Ozolian Locrians, *Ætolians*, Acarnanians, and their neighbours. And the fashion *of bearing arms among these continental tribes* is a relic of their old feudatory habits. . . . The older towns, in order to protect themselves against piracy, were built far from the sea; but the later towns, when navigation has become general, were built upon the seashore and peninsulas, and fortified for the sake of commerce and defence against the neighbouring towns. *But when those which dwelt upon the sea had gained* wealth by commerce and become rich, they could not

[1] Thucyd. 1, 5-8, Jowett.

only surround themselves with walls, but also reduce the weaker communes to subjection." The walls of the new citadel of Myocnæ have already shown us how well the art of fortification was understood. Not only are Thebes, Mycenæ, and Tiryns fortified, but Argos and Corinth we find very capable of resistance. How difficult these cities were to reduce is proved by the fact that the hosts which attacked Argos and Corinth could only attain their end by building castles in the neighbourhood for themselves.

It is the life of the Hellenes after the expulsion of the Phœnicians, *i.e.* rather after the year 1100 B.C., which the *Epos* has in view under the name of the times of the Achæans. So far as we can judge, this life was concentrated at that time at three points upon the east coast; viz. on the Bœotian lakes of Orchomenus, in Attica, and on the Gulf of Argos. Attica had become an exclusive community, the centre of which was the Cecropia and the princely house which there reigned. To the north-west, under this citadel, lay the king's house, while the city grew up on the south of the citadel.[1] The formerly independent communes of the Attic territory were united by common offerings, which were brought to the protectress of the citadel, Athena; the ancient and noble families of the four now united districts, who lived by their weapons and by war, or understood sacrificial hymns; the races of the Cecropidæ, the Eleusinians, the Marathonians, and those of the south country, were combined together as tribes.[2]

[1] Thucyd. 2, 15.

[2] If the emigrants from Attica took with them fire from the Prytaneum, if the colonists from Miletus built an altar to Demeter of Eleusis, if the royal house of Ephesus, even after the abolition of the kingly office, presented their offering, and the Ionians beyond the

Thus Attica had received an organisation which assured to the ancient divisions of the land a separate existence within the commonwealth, but at the same time bound them fast to it. Side by side with the worship of Athena, on the citadel, there existed that of Poseidon (p. 111); beneath the citadel the worship of Apollo (pp. 67, 120); the cult of Demeter of Eleusis, of Demeter Thesmophoros, *i.e.* the law-bringing Demeter, who was adored not only as the founder of the house, the giver of the fruit of the ground, of the harvest blessing, but also as the institutrix of marriage, and the giver of the blessing of children. In regard to the commonwealth on the bay of Argos, of which Mycenæ was the centre, we have already seen, from the monuments which its princes have left behind them, that great means and artistic hands were at its disposal. Tradition says that it also ruled on the Eurotas, and in the oldest account that has come down to us of Amyclæ on the Eurotas, this commonwealth has left its ancient home and the abodes of its ruling power. Not merely the princes of Orchomenus and Halus, but also those of Mycenæ, are said to have attempted navigation, the latter not for the sake of peaceful commerce but for plunder. That tribes driven out from the Peloponnesus, Bœotia, and Thessaly, should have betaken themselves to the sea, and sought their new home on the islands beyond the Ægean, proves incontestably that these waters and coasts were not unknown to them, but had already been seen by them from their ships. The renown of the might of the princes of Argos was so lasting that long

sea celebrated the Thesmophoria, these rites must have existed before the migration. The existence of the four tribes of nobility has been already demonstrated (*supra*, p 84).

after the fall of their dominion, the name of Pelops, their tribal ancestor, borrowed from the legend of the Pisatæ, and first adopted by them after the year 700 B.C., gave its appellation to the southern peninsula of Hellas.

CHAPTER IX.

THE RELIGION OF THE GREEKS.

The uncertain outlines of the picture of Greek life in ancient times can be filled in on one important side with tolerable accuracy. The oldest possession of every people, besides its language, is its religion. We are in a position to establish with approximate certainty the fundamental religious ideas of the Greeks and the original constituents of their notions about the gods. The oldest authorities of the Greeks which give us any information on this subject, *i.e.* their most ancient poems, which have been preserved, no doubt date from a time when those notions, through contact with the cults which the Phœnicians had brought to the coasts of Hellas, and with which the Greeks had grown acquainted on the islands and coasts of the Ægean Sea, had long ago multiplied and extended, and through their own impulsive energy had become further developed. But we may venture to refer all forms and features in the domain of traditional religious intuitions which clearly and easily harmonise with the religious notions of the family of nations to which the Greeks belong, without hesitation to the oldest materials of the Greek faith.

The friendly spirits of light and brightness were invoked by the Greeks, as by the Indians, as their defenders and lords; the spirits who bestow on them

light, water, and fire are their helpers; their enemies are the hostile spirits of darkness, night, and drought. The phenomena of the sky were less violent in Greece than in India; the contrasts of height and depth, of heat and cold, of fertile land and wilderness, were not so striking and imposing in the one case as the other; neither for the hurt nor for the healing of mankind was Nature so powerful on the peninsula of the Greeks as in Iran, and on the Indus and Ganges. The fear of spectres of the night and of the mysterious dæmons could not be so great here as in the land of the five streams; the conflict of the spirits of light against the spirits of darkness and drought, the contrast between the health-bringing and evil spirits, between the spirits of prosperity and the dæmons of adversity, was not so sharply marked as on the Indus, and did not become the turning-point of faith and ethics as in Iran.

The bright spirit ruling on high in heaven, in the æther, is called by the Greeks Zeus, that is, the shining, the bright; by the Indians Dyaûs, from *div*, to shine; and by the Germans Ziu. He is not only the god of the wide clear sky, but he is also, like the Indra of the Arians in the Punjab, in the thunderstorm; he is the gatherer of storm-clouds, the thundering god, rejoicing in lightning, the giver of rain. But the conflict of the god of heaven with the dæmons became or remained less lively with the Greeks than with the Indians; it is ascribed to other spirits side by side with the god of heaven. In the *Epos* of the Greeks the battle between the light and dark spirits is already fought and over. When the spirits of heaven arm themselves against the evil spirits,—against the Graiæ, Gorgons, Giants, and Titans, to whom the poets of the *Epos*, and further,

those of the *Theogony*, had attributed forms of another origin,—they strengthen themselves with nectar and ambrosia, as Indra strengthens himself with the drink of Soma for the conflict against Vritra and Ahi; as Indra blasts Vritra and Ahi with lightning, so Zeus triumphs in the thunderstorm over the Titans; with ceaseless flashes he shatters them; after a ten years' struggle they are overcome. The description of the battle of the Titans in the *Theogony* lets certain features appear which remind us of the conflict of Indra with the Danavas,[1] though the Titans fight from Mount Othrys across Thessaly against the gods on Olympus, and the giants from the rocky coast of Thrace across the Thermaic Gulf. The conquered spirits of darkness are thrust under the earth, into the obscurity which belongs to them.[2]

Like the Arians in Iran and on the Indus, the Greeks worshipped the life-giving, fructifying force of water; as with the former so with the latter, all water of the earth sprang from water of the heavens, and it was the task of their beneficent gods to send water, and to rescue it from the dæmons who wished to carry it off. We saw how among the Indians Varuna (Uranus) dwelt in the waters of heaven, and how among the Arians in Iran the heavenly water sprang forth upon the mountain of heaven, of Hara Berezaiti, and from thence descended to the earth. The Avesta calls Hara Berezaiti "the powerful navel of waters;" on its summit springs the Ardviçura, which lets its mighty waters fall into the Vourukasha (the lake of heaven); above this gather the clouds, which the wind drives forth to bring water to the earth; on the lake of

[1] Muir, *Sanscr. Texts*, 5, 95 ff.
[2] *Theogony*, 715 ff.

heaven stands the tree Gaokerena, which bears the heavenly Haoma, the seed of all trees. In the Homeric hymns all streams arise from Zeus, *i.e.* from the sky; in the farthest east Æschylus knows of the "all-nourishing" lake, from which every morning Helios arises, and in which he bathes himself and his horses.[1] It is the lake of heaven, the reservoir of the heavenly water. The water of heaven, the stream of heaven, was called by the Greeks Achelous, a name which has been derived from *αχα*, *aqua*. The Achelous is, in the Homeric hymns, the lord and ruler from which all streams, the sea, and all springs and fountains arise.[2] Acusilaus calls Achelous the oldest of all rivers.[3] Ephorus tells us that the oracle at Dodona in almost all its utterances commanded "to offer sacrifices to Achelous." "To Achelous," he continues, "all people sacrifice; to the other streams only those who dwell by them; all waters collectively we call Achelous; thus the name is understood in the sayings of the gods; and so do we make use of the word in oaths, and vows, and offerings."[4] The horn of Achelous is the horn of Amalthea, *i.e.* of the nourishing one,[5] from which flows nectar and ambrosia, and all fruits and blessings. The source of the heavenly water of the Achelous is called Trito.[6] The Epic poems bring down the mountain of the gods, which the Greeks also originally conceived to be in heaven,[7] to Mount Olympus, and change

[1] Æschylus, ap. Strab. p. 33. I follow here and subsequently the standard treatise of Bergk, *Geburt der Athene*, Jahn's *Jahrbucher*, 1860, p. 289.

[2] *Il.* 21, 194. Verse 195, according to Zenodotus and Bergk, is to be omitted.

[3] *Fragm.* 11[a] M.

[4] *Fragm.* 27 M.

[5] Hesych. *sub voce.*

[6] Pausan. 8, 26, 6; Hesych. Τριτώ ῥεῖμα τρόμος φόβος.

[7] *Odyss.* 6, 41 ff.; Bergk, *loc. cit.* p. 408.

the Achelous and the sea of clouds, the air stream surrounding the abode of the gods, into Oceanus, the stream flowing round the earth; and the Trito is changed into the Styx. In the Homeric poems *Helios* no longer ascends out of the lake of heaven, but from the ocean; from the ocean also Aristophanes makes the rain-clouds ascend,[1] as the Avesta, from the lake of heaven, the Lake Vourukasha. But Oceanus, *i.e.* the water of the heavens, has nevertheless remained in the Homeric poems the "Origin of the gods and of all existence."[2] The Styx is, in the *Theogony*, the "Horn of Oceanus," *i.e.* the fountain-head of Oceanus. Its "cold, many-named, imperishable water" falls down from high perpendicular cliffs like that of the Ardviçura. In another aspect the Styx is called the oldest and most distinguished daughter of Oceanus. The sons of Oceanus are the great streams and 3000 other rivers, and its 3000 daughters live in the depths of the seas and fountains. If the gods have an oath to swear, Iris fetches water from the Styx in a golden bowl. If a god swears falsely by this water he loses his divine power[3]—a punishment which clearly arises from the conception that this heavenly water is the fountain of life, the fountain of divine power. In the hymns of the *Rigveda* the streams are milch cows; with the Greeks they are fructifying bulls, the nourishers and guardians of the territories they traverse; the progenitors, as we have seen, of their inhabitants and earliest rulers. The water of the streams gave increases to marriages,[4] and inspired the singers of hymns with

[1] Aristoph. *Nub.* 272, 277.
[2] *Il.* 14, 201, 246, 302.
[3] *Theogony*, 775, 793 ff; 340-370; Aristot. *Metaph.* 1, 3. Concerning the Styx, with the poets, Pausan. 8, 18, 1-3.
[4] *Hymn. in Cererem*, 99; Bergk, *loc. cit.* p. 310.

their song. The Muses of the Greeks are spirits of the streams, water-nymphs.

In the most ancient worship of which we have any knowledge, the cult of Dodona, the god of the clear sky, Zeus, was principally adored as sender of water, —the Rainer,[1] and side by side with him the nymphs of rain—the Hyades. Numerous springs flowed from the slope of Mount Tomarus on which Dodona lay; in the opinion of the Greeks there were one hundred.[2] Later sculptures show the god of Dodona with dripping beard and hair, the oak wreath on his head.[3] The oracles of the god commend that sacrifice should be offered to Achelous; the river that springs from the central chain in the neighbourhood of Dodona bears the name of Achelous—it is the largest and most copious of the rivers of the peninsula—like the river of heaven: the lake to the north of Dodona (now the Lake of Janina) is called Pambotis, *i.e.* the "All-nourisher," like the lake of heaven: the territory around Dodona, Hellopia, *i.e.* "the clear looking" or Hellas. The servants of the god are called Helli (Selli[4]), *i.e.* no doubt the light ones, because the country belongs to the light-god, and its priests serve the light-god. Accordingly, we may venture to suppose that this green, well-watered, wooded country appeared to the Greeks as a highly-favoured land and a type of heaven; and the sacred oak (beech-oak, φηγός), the rustling of which declared the will of Zeus at the fountain of the sanctuary

[1] *C.I.G.* No. 2908.

[2] Theopompus, ap. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* 4, 2. The Thessalian Dodona manifestly invented or transferred to the other, by the migrations of the Thesprotian Thessalians from Epirus to Thessaly, seems to me entirely put out of the question by G. F. Unger (*Philologus*, 1863, p. 377).

[3] Unger, *loc. cit.* p. 393.

[4] *Supra*, p. 24.

(the sayings of the oak, says Plato, were the most ancient prophetic utterances[1]), seemed a type of the tree of heaven, of the tree of the clouds, which, according to the ancient notion of the Arians, stood in the east; as to that of the Germans, it stood on the lake, or at the fountain of heaven. Also the name of the priestesses of the temple, the interpretresses of the gods, Peleiæ, *i.e.* doves, who led the inquirer to the oak, and when it rustled said to him: "Zeus speaks this," may be traced to the story of the doves which bring Zeus ambrosia from the spring of heaven, and must fly through the movable door in the rock, the cloud-mountain of heaven, and through the wandering rocks, after the stream of heaven had been changed into Oceanus.[2] The priestesses fed the god with offerings of food.

It was not Zeus alone, according to the ancient faith of the Greeks, who sent the water of the sky upon the earth. The same function devolved upon a female goddess, the water nymph of heaven: she has to wrest it in battle from the dæmons, who wished to carry it off and hide it. Pallas Athena is called Trito, like the fountain of heavenly water, or Tritogeneia, *i.e.* offspring of Trito. She is the spirit of this fountain itself.[3] On the summit of the mountain of the gods,

[1] Plato, *Phædrus*, p. 275.

[2] *Odyss.* 12, 59 ff.; H. F. Perthes, *Progr. Progymn*, Mörs, 1869. From these doves, the story likewise of Herodotus (2, 55) is invented, of the two doves who flew from Thebes to Dodona and the Ammoneum.

[3] Bergk, *loc. cit.* p. 303, 309 ff. The name Trito is preserved in Amphitrite. When Epic poetry made the heavenly stream descend to the earth as Oceanus, and the water of heaven now surrounded the earth, Triton became Amphitrite; and when Poseidon became the god of the sea, the *Theogony* consistently gave him Amphitrite to wife (930) who now bears Triton to him. We hear, in the *Rigveda*, of Traitan and Trita, the son of Aptya, who slew the triple-headed snake with seven tails, that split the rocks in which the dæmons had hidden the

the Greeks thought, was the fountain of the waters of the sky. So the legend in the *Theogony*—though this is no doubt a reminiscence of the birth of the goddess on the top of the mountain,[1] at the water of the Trito—could represent Pallas Athena as springing from the head of Zeus, *i.e.* from the summit of the mountain of heaven;[2] and Pindar could make the goddess spring from the head of Zeus by the stroke of the hatchet of Hephæstus, or, as others say, of Prometheus. The hatchet of the fire god, of Prometheus Hephæstus, is the lightning which cleaves the summit of the mountain of heaven and of the cloud-mountain, and therewith lets the fountain of heaven spring forth. Fire and water, *i.e.* lightning and water of heaven, are closely combined in the ancient Arian conception. The lightning lets the rain stream forth from the thunder-cloud. In the hymns of the *Rigveda* the lightning is called the bull, begotten in the bed of the water. The same image of the lightning, breaking forth from the rain-cloud, is at the foundation of the legend of the fountain of Dodona; it quenches, indeed, the torches which are plunged into it burning, but kindles fireless torches when they are dipped. The goddess of the fountain of heaven does not pour out dew every night: she protects the water

cows of heaven—the rain-clouds; according to the *Veda*, Trita can cure sickness and give long life; the water of heaven is wholesome, the rain which Haurvatat sends rains down remedies; in the Avesta, Trita is the first physician: there Thraetaona, the son of Athwya, kills Azhi dahaka; he too is invoked as helper in sickness and pain; Verethragna, *i.e.* the slayer of Vritra, stands by the slayer of Azhi, Ahi, in this conflict. Kuhn (*Hofer's Zeitschrift*, 1, 276, 289) compares Trita with Trito. So also Benfey (*Gotting. Anz.* 1868, p. 36-60) compares Trita and Traitan with Trito, and Tritonis with Thraetaona; and refers Athena to Athwyana, *i.e.* watery.

[1] Bergk, *loc. cit.* p. 298. [2] *Olymp.* 7, 35; Apollod. 1, 3, 6.

of heaven which the dæmons would carry off; she takes it from them in victorious battle and gives it to the earth. This battle is the storm. She wields the lightning flash, and therefore is she called Pallas, the wielder (brandisher): she causes the water to stream down from heaven, she has conquered the black dæmons, therefore is she the goddess of victory. With the eye of an owl she looks clearly through the stormy night: after this her victory the sky shines again as brightly as after the rain which Zeus sends. With a dark and terrible countenance—so terrible that it changes the beholder into stone—the gorgon journeys along in the sky with the swollen body in which she would steal away the water of heaven. Pallas cleaves her bosom with the lightning flash, the waters stream to the earth, and the sky shines in renewed brilliancy. Zeus likewise guides the lightning and wields the Ægis, *i.e.* the blast, the tempest;[1] but Athena boasts, in Æschylus, that she alone knows the keys of the chamber in which the lightning reposes;[2] she, the warrior maiden in the storm, bears as her constant emblem the Ægis, which she won as first champion of the gods in the battle against the Titans—the snaky-locked head of the gorgon, which, in token of her victory, she set in her shield or in the Ægis;[3] it is the terrible image of the thunder-cloud surrounded with forked lightnings. As the averter of the dæmons she is Alalcomene; as fighter and conqueror she is the goddess of battle and victory. Together with Zeus she is invoked before the battle.[4] The spirit of the clear water of heaven must be a pure maiden;

[1] *αἰγίς* from *ἀΐσσω*, I shake, move; from the similarity of sound with *αἴξ*, goat, the ægis became a goat-skin.

[2] *Eumenid.* 827. [3] Euripid. *Ion.* 209, 987 ff. [4] *Il.* 11, 736.

with her bright eye looking down from heaven, and piercing through the thunder-cloud with her keen glance, she could be the goddess of clear intelligence and wisdom.

The Arians in Iran worshipped the spirit of light, Mitra,—who first rises above Hara Berezaiti before the sun who guides his horses,—the mighty, victorious warrior, who puts to flight the spirits of darkness, watches over truth and good faith, blesses the house of the sincere, and punishes the most secret wickedness: to the Arians in the Punjab Mitra was a powerful helper, the guardian of the duties of men towards the gods, the guardian of truth, loyalty, and right. This spirit of light is also well known to the Greeks. He is called by them Phœbus, *i.e.* the shining one, according to his bright nature; and Apollo, *i.e.* defender, for he terrifies the spectres of night with his beams, and conquers the dæmons of darkness. His weapon is the silver bow, his arrows are the beams of the sun. We already know him under the name of Perseus, *i.e.* the destroyer, the slayer of the gorgon (p. 85): we know him under the name of Bellerophontes, as the slayer of Belleros. He, the best archer, enables the archer to hit the mark, as the mighty warrior and victor over the monsters is invoked for aid in the battle-cry of the assault; to him, the unconquered god, is due the song of thanks and praise, the Pæan. To the spirits of the light of heaven belong the bright clouds, the sheep and cattle of the sky. He pastures them, and gives the cattle increase, and the sheep milk, and wards off the wolf which falls upon the herds. His beams also make the seeds thrive and ripen; to him belong the first fruits of harvest, and we have already seen how the inhabitants of Attica implored

him at the intercessory festival of the Thargelia not to dry up the crops (p. 67). The ripened fruits and the harvest wreath, the Eiresione, were hung up in his temple (p. 120). On the sea, likewise, the god of light was mighty. When the sun pierces through the dark storm-clouds, the beams of light fall on the sea and the gray billows brighten, then are the spirits of darkness driven away, the danger is over. The seaman breathes again, and thanks the light-god, whose rays have saved him. So might the swan and the dolphin, which play on the light-smitten tranquillised waves, be consecrated to Apollo. The god of light rules over the sun and the revolution of the year. After the short, gloomy days, and the fogs of winter, he brings back the bright days of spring, and with them new life; and makes the sea glisten once more in the sunshine.

With the Arians in Iran and India, Mitra was not only the conqueror of the dæmons, the giver of health and prosperity: from the spirit of all-revealing light nothing could remain hidden, and what was contrary to the pure nature of light, that he must destroy. The light, according to the Arian view, is not only the life-giving power—not only the good and pure in the natural, but also in the moral, sense. To the Greeks likewise Apollo is the god who sees all things, a spirit of purity, who demands that man should guard himself against impurity, and put away all defilement and contamination which contradicts the nature of the light-god. To him belongs punishment, he accomplishes the punishment of sin, if the sinner does not turn it away by repentance. The herds of the sinner he casts down with sharp arrows; with glowing shafts he burns up their crops; his arrows bring fever and death.

Zeus, Pallas, and Apollo, are the mightiest forms of the ancient gods of heaven of the Greeks; the formula of prayer in the Homeric hymns runs thus: "Hear me, Father Zeus, and Athena, and Apollo." Of the conflicts of the light-god against the dæmons many traces have been preserved besides the victory over the gorgon and Belleros. After the fighting and labouring Melkarth of the Cadmea, the Archal of the Phœnicians, who has to conquer the summer heat, the lion, the hostile signs of the zodiac, had become the hero Heracles (p. 87), features of the Arian mythus, deeds of the native gods, were transferred to this originally foreign hero. Apollo's herds of oxen, so the poems of Hesiod relate, are stolen by Cycnus, the son of Ares. Apollo commands Heracles to punish Cycnus, who dwells on the Gulf of Pagasæ. As Sirius (the dog-star) scorches up the skin,"[1] Heracles breaks forth upon him. He mounts the chariot drawn by the steed Arion, which Poseidon begot in union with the Harpyia. Cycnus falls, and Ares, who defends him, is wounded, and the Anaurus (a stream which runs down from Mount Pelion) makes invisible the grave and monument of Cycnus. The evil spirit, the son of the destructive war-god, who steals from Apollo the oxen, *i.e.* the bright clouds of the sky, who is encountered in the greatest heat, must be a dæmon of drought, perhaps Çushna, *i.e.* the dryer-up, an epithet of the evil Vritra in the hymns of the *Rig-veda*.[2] After his fall the Anaurus rises; the water which the dæmon of drought has shut up in the caves of the rocks again breaks forth; and if both grave and monument of Çushna disappear, we read in the

[1] *Scutum Herc.* 397 ff.

[2] Kuhn, *Herabkunft*, p. 58; Bréal, *Hercule et Cacus*, pp. 83, 93, 97.

Veda after Indra has conquered Ahi: "Now the waters run over the corpse of Ahi, and the enemy of Indra there sleeps through long darknesses: the cave of the waters Indra has opened again." That the battle takes place above, in heaven itself, is shown by the steed before the chariot of Heracles, which Harpyia, *i.e.* the storm-wind, bore; and if Heracles led the battle at the command of Apollo, Apollo himself is clearly designated as the original opponent of Çushna. The sun-god of the Lydians —Sandon—was to the Greeks partly Heracles and partly Apollo.

Among the Indians, there stands beside Mitra the driver of the sun-chariot Surya, whom the yellow horses with white feet draw; among the Iranians, the sun-god Hvare Khshaeta stands beside Mitra. The Hellenes also placed beside Apollo Helios, with his chariot of four horses, who, like Mitra over the mountain of the gods, drives out of the lake of heaven over the mountain of the beech-oak in the east.[1] Helios is only a special form of Apollo; the offerings which are brought to Apollo in spring and autumn at the solstice, in the beginning of the month, show that the identity of Apollo and Helios was recognised by the Greeks.[2] Phaethon, *i.e.* the beaming one; Elector, *i.e.* the shining one; Hyperion, *i.e.* the high-wandering one, are names which belong to Apollo in the form of Helios.

The light of night—moonlight—belongs to a female divinity—Artemis. As Apollo, the spirit of the youthful, unaging light, was a young god with golden

[1] Bergk, *loc. cit.* p. 408.

[2] Ἥλιος Ἀπόλλων ὁ δέ γ' Ἀπόλλων Ἥλιος; Bergk, *Poet. lyr.* p. 1030.

hair, so the goddess of the pure moonlight must be a maiden of radiant beauty. She carries a bow, like Apollo; her arrows take away the women, as those of Apollo the men. The moon is a wandering planet, the spirit of it therefore is a swift goddess, a huntress, but also a warrior maiden, for she shoots her silver arrows against the black clouds which would hide the moon. She is also goddess of war, and gives help to combatants in battle. It was natural to conceive Apollo and Artemis, who give light to the day and to the night, as brother and sister, as twins. As in Helios the closer relation of Apollo to the sun, so the relation of Artemis to the moon was emphasised under a special name, Selene or Helena; from which, as in the former case, a separate form was developed.

With the Indians, the rosy dawn is a female goddess, Ushas, who ascends the sky with red cows; with the Greeks, the "early-born, rosy-fingered Eos" drives forth upon the horse-chariot of the sun. The first beams of morning, which scare away the spectres of night, were to the Arians on the Indus a swift, helpful pair of brothers, the Açvins. To the Greeks they are a pair of twins, the youthful sons of Zeus the heavenly god; and they are also the spirits that ward off evil (*ἀλεξίκακοι*). They draw near in the heat of battle, giving victory to the attack and checking the pursuit. If the seaman despaired in the storm, he cried to the Dioscuri. In the tempest at sea the first beams of light piercing through the storm-clouds announced the approaching end of the bad weather. So the Dioscuri might also be protecting spirits of navigation. They were invoked under different names in the various territories of Greece. In Attica, they were called Anakes; in Bœotia, Amphion and Zethus

(Euripides calls these "the sons of Zeus on white horses"[1]); in Messenia, Idas, *i.e.* the seeing, and Lynceus, the sharp-glancing, who from Taygetus sees all that happens on the wide island of Pelops;[2] in the valley of the Eurotas they are Castor and Polydeuces. To the circle of light natures the Charites seem likewise to belong; these, no doubt, were originally spirits of the light-red clouds which precede the dawn. To the Greeks they were nymphs of the budding bloom of spring, of the sprouting meadows, of beauty and grace. At Orchomenus, where they were worshipped in antiquity, one was called Thallo, *i.e.* the blooming; the other Auxo, the growing; on the Eurotas one was Phaenna, the radiant; the other Cleta, the glorious.[3]

Among the Arians in Iran the morning wind Vayu was worshipped as a strong and swift fighter against the dark spirits, the clouds of night; and the winds who purify the sky from the right, *i.e.* from the east, who drive the rain-clouds from the Vourukasha, the lake of heaven, to the earth, are highly exalted. Among the Arians on the Indus the winds, the Maruts, are the strong helpers of the bright spirit in battle against the dæmons; Vayu is the charioteer of Indra in the battle with Vritra. To the Greeks the spirits of the winds are not unknown. In the Homeric poems they feast together with Zephyrus: Æolus, *i.e.*

[1] *Hercul. Furens.* 29 cf. *Phœniss.* 609; Hesych. Διόσκοροι.

[2] *Schol.* Pind. *Nem.* 10, 114, from the *Cypria*. The battle of Idas and Lynceus against Castor and Pollux is invented from the wars of Sparta and Messenia.

[3] Max Müller compares (*Lect.* 1, 371, *Chips.* 2, 130) the Charites with the Haritas, the yellow horses before the chariot of the sun; others compare them with the Haritas before the chariot of Indra. Sonne (Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, 10, 111) derives the "Charites" and "Charon" from the Sanscrit *ghar*, to shine.

the blowing (from ἀέλλω), with his twelve children, in these poems indeed has sunk down from the citadel of the clouds to a rocky island and become the son of Hippotades, that is, of the horseman. But to later poets also the storm-spirits, the Harpies, are called the "dogs of Zeus."[1] The specially-marked form of Hermes among the Greeks is founded upon that of the wind-spirit Vayu. Hermes is the "winged" god who descends swiftly from heaven to earth.[2] His name signifies the "storming." To the Dioscuri, the spirits of the first morning beams, he has given their swift horses;[3] he supports Perseus in his conflict with the gorgon, by the gift of his winged sandals, a diluted remnant of the story of Vayu taking part in the battle against Vritra. As the god of wind Hermes wears the hat of clouds, the cap which renders invisible, the helmet of Hades: with the hat of clouds on his head he fights against the wicked monsters, the giants.[4] From Apollo, Hermes, cunning and nimble as a thief, steals the oxen; *i.e.* the wind-god drives forth the bright clouds, but Apollo not merely forgives the theft, but gives to the thief the staff of blessing and of riches—which he retains for a symbol, as the winged soles and the hat of clouds; *i.e.* Hermes pours

[1] *Il.* 23, 200 ff; *Odyss.* 10, 1-60; Apoll. Rhod. *Argon.* 2, 289.

[2] Hermes is no doubt derived from ὁρμή; Sanscrit *sar*, to flow; Zd. *har*, to go. The two dogs of Yama, which watch the road of the souls (vol. 3, 50), are called Sarameyas, *i.e.* belonging to Sarama; Kuhn has accordingly identified Sarameyas and Ἑρμείας. The form of Sarama in the *Rigveda* (7, 54, 55, 10, 108) is obscure; it is only clear that Sarama finds again the cows which the allies of Vritra had driven to the end of heaven and hidden there. The canine form of Sarama does not come out in this very distinctly. Max Muller (*Lect.* 2, 463-480) finds in Sarama rather a form of the Ushas. The storm-nature of Hermes appears also in the comparison of Mercury with Wuotan in Tacitus.

[3] Stesich. *Fragm.* 1 B.

[4] Apollod. 1, 6, 2.

the water of the clouds in showers of rain upon the earth; then the meadows become green and the ground brings forth. The wind howls and whistles and sings; therefore the poetry of the Greeks makes Hermes, the god of wind, discover the syrinx and the lyre.[1] The spirit which rises in the morning, while it is yet dark, to chase away the darkness, must also keep watch in the night over houses and the sleep of men, and preserve them from painful dreams; the swift, far-hasting wind became the guardian spirit of wanderers far away; and with the protection of the wanderers, he protects also the roads; versatile, prompt, and nimble, he was the type and protector of runners, athletes, and wrestlers. Dwelling between heaven and earth, he is the messenger of gods to men; and he also bears the souls of men to heaven after death, upon his pinions. The Arians on the Indus at the burial rites besought the Maruts (the winds) to bear the soul of the dead person upwards and to moisten it with rain; in the Homeric poems the storms, the Harpies, snatch away the souls and bear them aloft through the pathway of the air; in other passages Hermes bears them to the other world.[2]

We are acquainted with the unwearied and far-extended worship which the Arians on the Indus and in Iran offered to fire. The spirit of fire is the victorious champion against the dæmons of the night; to the Arians on the Indus he is the transporter of the offerings of men to heaven, priest and mediator between heaven and earth, lastly lord of the hearth, founder of the house, "far-seeing house-lord." The

[1] *Hymn. in Mercur.* 24 ff, 68 ff, 397 ff.
[2] *Odyss.* 20, 62-65, 75-77; 1, 242; 14, 371.

same notions lie at the root of the analogous rites of the Greeks. Prometheus (in the legend of Argos, Phoroneus) brings fire from heaven to men and teaches them the custom of sacrifices,[1] just as Agni in the *Veda* comes down as priest among men. As the water of the earth came from the water of heaven, so with the Greeks the fire of the earth came from the fire of heaven. Both fall simultaneously, in lightning and rain, in the thunderstorm, upon the earth. Thus the *Theogony* can speak of the descent of Prometheus from Oceanus, *i.e.* from the heavenly water,[2] as with the Indians the lightning is the bull begotten in the bed of the water; thus Æschylus can further represent Prometheus and Oceanus as concluding the treaty to assure to men the gifts of water and fire. If Prometheus in another version of the mythus brings fire to men "in the stalk filled with pith," and in the "hollow reed,"[3] so with the Indians Agni lies concealed in the "double wood;" wood and plants which are easily kindled by friction according to the old Arian notion bear fire within them. If a third version of the mythus of Prometheus makes him the ancestor of the Greeks, and even the maker of men,[4] here again the old notion underlies it, that fire has raised the life of men, and founded the hearth and the house and their common life and customs. When the divinity of the lord of fire, as seen in his function of fire-bringer and priest, had been lost sight of by the Greeks among other aspects of the same spirit, their poetry might tell of the opposition of Zeus and Prometheus. The reason given for this was that Prometheus had defrauded the gods by teaching men to burn only fat and

[1] *Theogony*, 521 ff. [2] *Theogony*, 501. [3] *Opp. et dies*, 52.
[4] Apollod. 1, 7, 1; Pausan. 10, 4, 4.

bones to them in their offerings;[1] or more thoughtfully by Æschylus: men through fire and water came into possession of the gifts of the gods; they do not use these worthily, and Zeus will set a better race in their stead, and cause the present race to perish, in withdrawing fire from them; Prometheus nullifies this design by bringing fire again to men,[2] and must suffer a severe punishment for it.

The forms of the fire-spirit behind which, among the Greeks, the form of Prometheus disappeared into the background, are those of Hephæstus and Hestia. Hephæstus, in whom the importance of fire for handicrafts and art is emphasised, was, according to the original conception, nothing else than the lightning darting from heaven. In the Homeric poems, Zeus seizes him by the heel and throws him down to earth, the daughters of Oceanus receive him; in this the close connection between the heavenly fire and the heavenly water again appears; and the torch race—held specially in Attica, a territory which could maintain the ancient religious rites with least interruption, on the feasts of Prometheus and Hephæstus and at the Panathenæa, when the fire was carried from one altar to another—was no doubt meant to typify the swiftness of lightning and the rapid nature of fire. It was the altar of Prometheus on which at Athens the torches were kindled.[3] But Hephæstus is also the guardian of the hearth. Images of Hephæstus stood on the hearth; in Attica new-born children were received into the family by being carried round the hearth in the glow of the fire.[4]

[1] *Opp. et dies*, 48 ff; *Theogony*, 535 ff.
[2] Æschyl. *Prometh.* 233.
[3] Pausan. 1, 30, 2.
[4] *Schol.* Aristoph. *Aves*, 436; Meier, *de gentil Attic.* p. 13 ff; A. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 306, 312.

The clearest agreement with the fire-worship of the Arians in India and Iran was seen among the Greeks in the worship of Hestia. Upon the Indus Agni was the guardian of the sacrifice. Even when it concerned other gods, an offering was made to him that he might carry up the sacrifice; every sacrificial gift was ineffectual which he did not receive and bear upwards, "ascending straight" to the gods. Among the Greeks, Hestia had the same position and the same honour. The first sacrificial fire is the fire of the hearth, the first altar is the hearth of the house. The hearth received among the Greeks the name of the goddess of the hearth-fire, the name of Hestia. As goddess of pure fire she is a pure maiden. Herodotus counts Hestia among the deities to whom the Pelasgians had already given names. In the so-called Homeric hymns we read of Hestia: in the lofty houses of the gods and in those of men she has an eternal place and ancient honours: first-born daughter of the god of heaven, her father, instead of marriage, has given her the honour of being held by all mortals as the most ancient goddess, in all temples of the gods to have the first rank, to sit in the midst of the house and drink oil (among the Indians melted butter): her locks drip with damp oil.[1] Pindar calls Hestia the sister of Zeus, the first of the goddesses.[2] Aristophanes and Plato tell us that in all sacrifices, even those to Zeus and Apollo, Hestia first received an offering[3]—a custom, the existence and recognition of which are confirmed not only by the proverb of the Greeks, "to begin from Hestia,"[4] but also

[1] *Hymn. in Vest.* 3; *in Mercur. et Vest. init.*; *in Vener.* 29 ff.
[2] *Nem.* 11, 1-10.
[3] *Vesp.* 844; Plato, *Cratylus*, p. 401.
[4] Preuner, *Hestia und Vesta*, p. 10 ff.

by the rite which was always observed on the altars of Olympia.[1] The Greeks insisted on the purity of the offering with hardly less anxiety than the Arians of Iran. The likeness of the forms, and of the names Hestia and Vesta, among the Greeks and the Osci, proves that in the branch of the Arians which divided itself into these two ramifications, the spirit of the fire ascending from the earth, the hearth, and sacrificial fire, was already expressed in this female spirit, before they separated from each other, and that the Greeks brought Hestia with them at their migration into the peninsula.

Among the Indians the best drink of men was Soma, among the Iranians Haoma, the sap of the Asclepias plant mixed with milk; as the worthiest gift it was offered to the gods at the sacrifice. The earthly Soma or Haoma was an image of the drink of the gods, the divine white Soma, the stalk of which the Avesta represents as growing on the tree of heaven. What effects the Arians attributed to the draught of Soma, how Indra drank to himself force and courage for the battle against the dæmons, out of the sacrificial bowl, how to the Arians in India and Iran, out of the drink which strengthened and nourished the gods, there arose a mighty god, we have already seen.[2] The Greeks regarded the drink which they obtained from the sap of a kind of ash, and which they called Melia, as the best drink; they named this juice, like liquid honey, *Meli*, from which it would seem to have had a certain sweetness. They also distinguished the *meli* of gods and that of men.[3] The former is the air-honey, the honey-dew which falls down from heaven

[1] Pausan. 5, 14, 4, 5. [2] *Hist. Ant.* 4, 54, 125; 5, 124 ff.
[3] Bergk, *loc. cit.* p. 382-388.

(ἀερόμελι), the heavenly mead (μέθυ);[1] the sweet drink of heaven is with them, also, distinct from the mead of the earth;[2] with the sweet drink of heaven Zeus is fed. His nurses are called Meliæ (ash-maidens), and likewise Melissæ (honey-maidens).[3] If the priestesses among the Greeks were called Melissæ, *i.e.* pourers of the sweet drink, this shows that with them also the noblest drink of men was offered to the gods. The Greeks, too, ascribed inspiring force to the sacrificial mead; this is clear from the statement that the nymphs of Parnassus do not prophesy rightly if they have not enjoyed mead,[4] the food of the gods; and that the poets compare themselves with Melissæ, with the givers of the inspiring drink; and their songs with the drink itself, with *Meli*, and that in later times poetesses were still called Melissæ.

The spirit of the heavenly and earthly mead, the spirit of the libation, is Dionysus; a mighty inspiring god, as giver of the drink-offering; he is himself a sacrificer, the exciter of that devotion, of that stormy and importunate sacrificial song which we found in the worship of the Indians. Dionysus is called the son of Dione, *i.e.* of the bright one, the heavenly one; but he was also the son of Semele, *i.e.* of her who was worthy of veneration; or of Amalthea, *i.e.* of the fountain-horn of the heavenly spring; or of Hya, the nymph of rain; or of Thyone, *i.e.* of the sacrificing. He grows up on Trito the heavenly spring, at Triton the

[1] Sanscrit *madhu*, signifies sweet drink and honey; similarly in old Bactrian, *madhu* is honey.

[2] Kuhn, *Herabkunft des Feuers*, p. 136.

[3] Callimach. *Hymn. in Jovem*, 47.

[4] Plut. *Quæst. Conv.* 4, 6, 2; *Hymn. in Mercur.* 560 ff. That Melissa is to be derived from μελία and μέλι, not from μέλεσθαι, I feel quite certain.

lake of heaven, on the meadow Nysa; the Hyades, *i.e.* the rain-nymphs, tend him. Accordingly he stands in close connection with the moisture of the sky, he himself is invoked as the Rainer.[1]

If Zeus descended in lightning to Hya, the mother of Dionysus, and to Amalthea or Semele,[2] this merely signifies the union of heavenly water and fire in the drink, in the fiery strength of the drink, the spirit of which is Dionysus, and the invocation of Dionysus as an ox, as the women of Elea invited him to his feast, the Thyia, with this song: "Come, hero Dionysus, into the holy temple of the Eleans, with the Charites into the temple, storming with the ox-foot, Holy ox, Holy ox,"[3] describes the powerful stormy nature of the god. The god who gave strength and inspiration to gods and men, who combined the water and fire of heaven, the fertilising moisture and the animating warmth in himself, whom the water-nymphs and fountain-nymphs have brought up and led, who grew up on the flowery meadow of heaven, must also give power to natural life everywhere when moisture is needed; to him belong the damp depressions, the well-watered fields; to him, the ever-young and ever-blooming god, belong the ever-green plants; and the nymphs, the Charites, must be in his train. In spring he was called on to come, in autumn there were rejoicings over the gifts which he had bestowed.

The Greeks first became acquainted with wine in the valleys of Hellas;[4] the Phœnicians, it would

[1] In Pherecyd. *Fragm.* 46 M; *Hymni Hom.* 25, 2 ff; 26, 9, Nysa is called "the highest mountain." Diodor. 3, 62, 66; Apollod. 3, 4, 3.

[2] To connect Semele with the Sanscrit Somalata, as E. Burnouf does, seems to me to overstep even the limits allowed to bold conjecture.

[3] *Poetæ Lyrici*, Bergk, [3]p. 1028; Pausan. 6, 26, 1.

[4] Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*, p. 67. If this is certain, the Phœnicians

seem, brought the vine from Syria to Hellas. When the Greeks by degrees grew familiar with wine; when this had superseded the ancient beverage of ash-juice and of honey, when wine brought equal or higher inspiration than mead, then Dionysus became the god of the juice of the grape. In the Homeric poems the use of wine is throughout customary. Now Dionysus is said to have given the vine to Oeneus, *i.e.* to the wine-man of Calydon; to the father of Tydeus and Meleager in Ætolia; to Icarius at Icaria in Attica; now led by nymphs, naiads, and Thyiades, crowned with ivy and laurel, he has travelled through the meadows, woods, and mountains, and everywhere taught the culture of the vine; and to those who opposed him, who still adhered to the ancient mead, he has sent madness instead of inspiration. How the birthplace of the god, the lake Triton, and the meadow of Nysa were transferred to the earth, and where they are to be sought; how the train of Dionysus was enlarged into a triumphal procession to the farthest east; what fusion with a deity of another nation and entirely foreign to his nature Dionysus underwent in the seventh and sixth centuries, will be seen further on.

Poseidon is called in the *Theogony* the elder brother of Zeus;[1] in the Homeric poems he is called the "oldest and best of the gods," while in other places he is named the younger brother of Zeus. So far as can be discovered, Poseidon was originally Zeus himself in a particular aspect; at a later time this particular aspect was separated from the god of heaven and

must also have brought the vine from Thasus and Samothrace to the Thracian coasts; and all the less can Thrace be made the birthplace, the point of departure of the Dionysus worship or of Dionysus himself.

[1] *Theogony*, 455 ff.

coined into a distinct form.[1] Poseidon is the lord of the streams, which are still in Homer the offsprings of Zeus and of fountains; he splits the rocks with his trident, *i.e.* with lightning, and makes the fountains spring forth; his anger makes the streams dry up.[2] He is the master of the horse of the clouds, Pegasus, whose hoof strikes the springs out of the rocks; the father of the horse Arion, which he begot in union with the horse-shaped Erinnys, *i.e.* the wandering, on the Ladon, that is, the spring of heaven (the Erinnyes are the dark storm-clouds, originally evil spirits[3]), or with the Harpyia, the storm-wind; he it is who gave to the Dioscuri their swift steeds, to Pelops the winged steeds, and to Peleus immortal steeds. All these traits show Poseidon as the lord of drinkable water, of spring water, and of the clouds; the form of a horse no doubt refers to the gush of springs and to the rapid motion of the clouds, and thus he becomes the god of heaven who sends water out of the rocks and into the streams. But the Greeks on their peninsula learned to know another water, the sea. They found themselves in these abodes surrounded by the sea, which everywhere dashed its waves upon their coasts. It was the influence of this new conception of the powerful element which was all around them, that made them divide the god of the springs and streams from the god of the bright sky, and transfer him to the sea; to the god of water these mighty masses of water must before

[1] Ahrens (*Philologus*, 1866, p. 10 ff) derives Poseidon from *ποτις* ποτις = puteus and *δαν*: *Ποτειδάν* therefore = Zeus of the sweet water: I am not competent to test this derivation etymologically.

[2] Pausan. 2, 2, 7.

[3] Kuhn's comparison of *ἐριννύς* and saranyûs is also recognised by Max Muller (*Lect.* 2, 480 ff.) with the reminder that the change of Vivasvat and Saranyu into horses is not to be found in the *Veda* itself, but only in the commentaries.

all else belong. So Zeus-Poseidon descended into the sea, and dwelt down below at Ægæ in the depth of the sea.[1] He himself is called Ægeus, *i.e.* the mover, from the never-resting motion of the waters. As Zeus shakes his ægis and raises the storm, so Poseidon moves the waves, the ceaseless rolling of which epic poetry compares with horses.[2] Poseidon's breast is broad as the expanse of the sea, his hair is dark as the gloomy depth of the sea; black oxen are the offerings pleasant to Poseidon. It seemed to the Greeks that their land, which was surrounded on all sides by the sea, was also upborne and upheld by it. So they thought that the god of the sea had made their land firm, and founded the islands; when Poseidon was angry, the earth trembled under the blows of the billows; earthquakes came from Poseidon. The lord of the swift cloud-horses and of the horses of the waves was in epic poetry a knightly god. Even when he had become god of the sea, Poseidon continued lord of the springs and streams,[3] and as such a fruit-giving god (*γενέθλιος, φυτάλμιος*), whom in Attica the Phytalidæ (*i.e.* the planters[4]), and at Trœzen the Antheadæ (*i.e.* the budders), who claimed to be descended from him, served. That the transposition of Poseidon from a particular aspect of the god of heaven into the god of the sea had already been accomplished by the Greeks in earlier times we saw from the common sacrifice to the sea-god offered at Helice by the towns of the Ægialieis, the sacrifice of the Ionic tribes on the isthmus, and the ancient common offering at Calauria, in which the races of the east coast from Orchomenus

[1] *Il.* 13, 10 ff. [2] *Hymn. Hom.* 21, 4.
[3] Pind. *Olymp.* 6, 59; Æschyl. *Sept.* 286 ff.
[4] Pausan. 1, 37, 2.

to Prasiæ combined (p. 158). But to what an extent Poseidon, even in this capacity, remained lord of the springs, Attic tradition has already shown us. When the Theseidæ, and after them the Pylians and Ægialieis, had brought the worship of the sea-god to Attica, and up to the Acropolis, side by side with that of Athena, the legend makes the god o[illegible] stream on the rocks of the citadel with a stroke of his trident (p. 111).

In the cult of Dodona there stood beside Zeus the god of heaven, a female being, Dione (διαίνα, divana, diana[1]), whose name, like that of Zeus, is taken from *the brightness of the sky; this name designates the* goddess as the bright one. In epic poetry this goddess is replaced by the form of the cow-eyed Hera, who fills the post of a royal mistress of the house. Meantime Hera is already described by Herodotus as a goddess of the Pelasgians, *i.e.* a goddess of the ancient times.[2] We can establish from other sources that Hera had been worshipped side by side with Zeus by the Pisatæ on the Alpheus[3] before the times of the migrations and settlement in the Peloponnesus; likewise this goddess possessed an ancient worship in Argos, of which she is the tutelary deity in the Homeric poems, and which Pindar calls "the house of Hera,"[4] on Mount Eubœa and on the declivity of the Treton. Hera was, in fact, only another name for Dione.[5] The name Hera may signify the shining, as Dione designates the bright one.[6] At the chief festival of Hera, on Mount

[1] G. Curtius, *Greek Etymology*, 1, 292. [2] 2, 50.

[3] The Eleans here only adopted the ancient cult of the Pisatæ, who always maintained that this sacrifice belonged of right to themselves.

[4] *Nem.* 10, beginning.

[5] *Schol. Odyss.* 3, 91; ἡ Ἥρα Διαίνα παρὰ τοῖς Δωδωναίοις.

[6] G. Curtius, *Greek Etymology*, 1, 119.

Eubœa, one hundred light-coloured cows were offered.[1] The prominence of the cow-form, of the cow's eyes, which Hera has retained in the epic poems, has reference to Phœnician conceptions, as the Hera Acræa of Corinth has undoubtedly this origin (p. 61). The horned Astarte, who vanishes away to the west, has been transferred by the poets to Hera-Dione; in any case the Phœnician mythus of the sacred marriage of Melicertes with the Syrian goddess is assigned to Zeus and Hera.[2]

We have seen the reverence entertained by the Arians in Iran and India for the patiently-bearing, submissive earth, which untiringly provides food for men and beasts. To the Greeks, also, the spirit of the earth (Ge, Gæa) is a holy, nourishing goddess. "The earth sends up fruits, therefore call the earth mother," the priestesses of Dodona are reported to have first sung.[3] The conception of the earth-spirit, of the broad-breasted Gæa, as the *Theogony* says,[4] received a more definite stamp through its relation with the soil. As protectress of the furrowed earth, as guardian of the seed, and giver of harvest blessing, Gæa is invoked under the name of Demeter, as "the motherly earth-spirit." She has taught men the use of the plough, shown them how to yoke oxen for the field, has given them crops, threshing-floors and flails. At the time of sowing she is the "goddess of clods;" at the time of the sprouting corn, the "green Demeter," at harvest-

[1] *Schol.* Pind. *Olymp.* 8, 114.

[2] The embrace of heaven and earth, which is brought forward in the rites of the ἱερὸς γάμος, is not an Arian conception; in the hymns of the *Rigveda*, no doubt, heaven (*dyaus*) is invoked as father, and earth (*prithivi*) as mother, but there is never any question of marriage (M. Muller, *Lect.* 2, 429 ff.; Muir, *Sanscr. Texts*, 5, 21 ff), and still less in the *Avesta*.

[3] Pausan. 10, 12, 10.

[4] V. 117.

time, "the golden goddess, the mower and binder of sheaves;" to her the first loaf after harvest is offered.[1] According to the faith of the Greeks, it was not only thanks for the giving of the fruit of the ground that they owed to Demeter. With agriculture came the fixed settlement and habitation, private property, the community of the family, the order and law of the commonwealth. This order of life Demeter had introduced; these were the benefits, the ordinances (*θεσμοί*) of Demeter. Above all, the women gave thanks to her for the house, and cried to her at the Thesmophoria, the feast of Demeter Thesmophoros, to give fruit to their ground and children to their marriages. In Attica marriages were concluded before the priestess of Demeter "for the begetting of legitimate children," as the formula ran;[2] and in Attica also the dead were given over to Demeter (p. 51). This peculiarly ethical conception and development of the form of Demeter began early with the Greeks, when the eastern cantons took to agriculture. Pelasgus, king of Argos, had received the goddess hospitably, and had founded the temple of the Pelasgian Demeter at Argos (p. 17). Herodotus already attributes the feasts of the Thesmophoria to the women of the Pelasgians of Argos; at the time of Erechtheus Demeter came to Celeus, Triptolemus, and Eumolpus, to teach the princes of Eleusis agriculture and her rites. We have noticed above the early combination of the tribes in the basin of the Peneus, in the valley of the Spercheus, and on the mountains round about, for a common sacrifice founded on the worship of Demeter and on a harvest thanksgiving festival (p. 158). The worship of

[1] Preller, *Griech. Mythol.* 1, 475.
[2] Plato, *Cratylus*, p. 406; Plut. *Conj. præcepta*, 42.

Demeter would have quite overpowered the form and name of Gæa, if the latter had not been again brought forward by the speculation of the *Theogony*.

With the Arians of Iran, in the beginning of all things, Yima, the son of the shining one, had ruled; and under his rule there had been neither heat nor cold, neither hunger nor thirst, neither sickness nor old age, nor death. When these evils afterwards came into the world, Yima with his elect had vanished into his gardens or his citadel, where sun, moon, and stars shine all at once, *i.e.* in heaven; and there in Yima's presence this happy life continues. With the Arians on the Indus Yama, son of the shining one, first arrived at the heights of heaven from the depths of the earth; he, the first man and the first king, has shown the road, and found that dwelling-place, "where the fathers of antiquity have gone home; his road leads thither every earth-born man."[1] In this dwelling sits Yama, with the gods and the fathers, under a tree with beautiful foliage, and drinks with them; here they are free from all wants; here the body blooms in new strength; soft winds blow, and cool rains fall; in the cascades honey flows, and in the streams milk.[2] Here, with Varuna, lord of the heavenly water, and with Yama, is light that is never quenched, and the brightness of heaven beams; here are joy and blessing, and wishes and longings are fulfilled. To the fathers (*pitaras*), shining in glory like stars, in Yama's dwelling, their posterity bring worship and sacrifice; they are implored to bestow health and blessing and riches on pious mortals;[3] in the *Avesta*, the spirits, the Fravashis of the fathers, are entreated

[1] *Rigveda*, 10, 14, 1, 2. [2] Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 412.
[3] *Rigveda*, 10, 15.

to send plenty of cattle and sheep, and to fight by the side of their descendants in battle. But the way to Yama's dwelling leads by Yama's two dogs, which guard the road, Çyama and Çabala, who only allow those to pass who have lived piously.[1] Then the souls go, as it seems, in a boat over the stream of air and sea of clouds which surround heaven.[2]

Similar notions were current in ancient times among the Greeks. As far as we can guess, Deucalion with them took the place of Yama or Yima, and Zeus associated with him a chosen race.[3] The poem of the *Works and Days*, which dates from the first half of the eighth century,[4] tells us of the first generation of men who lived like the gods without labour and trouble, in joy and comfort, with ever-equal hands and feet, whom wretched old age never approached, to whom the ground yielded freely many and rich fruits, until, overcome by slumber, they fell asleep. Even the Osci have not forgotten the golden age of Saturn. When the men of the first generation died, we further read in the *Works and Days*, they became, according to the counsel of Zeus, spirits which, clothed in air, wander over the earth as guardians of mortals; they look upon good and evil deeds, and, using the office of a king, bestow riches;[5] like the Pitaras of the Indians and the Fravashis of the Iranians. If, in the Homeric poems, the storms carry away the souls; if Hermes, the morning breeze, leads the souls to the world beyond, like the Maruts,—the host of winds, with the Indians,—it follows that the Greeks too, in

[1] Zimmer, *loc. cit.* p. 419.
[2] *Rigveda*, 10, 14, 12; *Atharv.* 8, 1, 9.
[3] *Supra*, p. 30, 134; Hesiod. *Fragm.* 25 Lehrs; *infra*, Book 3, ch. 14.
[4] Book 2, ch. 12.
[5] *Opp. et dies*, 109-125.

ancient times, sought the abode of souls in heaven, and thought that they were carried up to the sea of clouds and the stream of air (Oceanus), which, according to the ancient notion of the Greeks, surrounded heaven, and over which the souls must pass in order to attain heaven.[1] It is a remnant of this old notion that we find in Pindar—when the souls of the good and brave go "the way of Zeus," *i.e.* the heavenly road, to the citadel of Cronos, on the island of the blest, which is fanned by the breezes of Oceanus, and where flowers and fruit shine like gold.[2] Lethe, out of which the souls in the other world drink forgetfulness of their troubles, is, in the ancient conception, not a stream of the infernal regions, but that heavenly spring, the waters of which set them free from all wants, which gives them immortality and the nature of the gods, with whom they henceforth live in heaven.[3] Even Yama's dogs are not unknown to the Greeks: Cerberus is the Çabala of the *Veda*.[4] The epic poetry of the Greeks has placed heaven upon Olympus, the sea of clouds around the circumference of the earth; has transferred the abode of the hosts of the spirits of the fathers from the kingdom of light to Oceanus, and farther beneath the earth. It has changed the bright dwelling of the departed, apparently under the influence of Phœnician conceptions, into the kingdom of shadows; and has made the heavenly spring and the heavenly stream sink down into the darkness of the abyss.

[1] Diogen. Laert. 8, 32; Hesych. Ὠκεανός.

[2] *Olymp.* 2, 68 ff.

[3] Bergk, *loc. cit.* pp. 398, 407, 412, 419.

[4] The ferryman who, with the Greeks, ferries over the souls belongs originally to the spirits of light, if the derivation given by Sonne (Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, 10, 107)—from the Sanscrit *ghar*, to shine, give light—holds good.

BOOK II.

CONQUESTS AND MIGRATIONS

CHAPTER I.

MIGRATION AND CONQUESTS OF THE THESSALIANS, ÆTOLIANS, AND DORIANS.

THROUGH the colonies of the Phœnicians on the east coast, incentives and impulses of many kinds were imparted to the life of the Greeks. In the conflict with these strangers, and after their expulsion, larger communities were formed in the basin of the Bœotian Lakes around Orchomenus, in Attica, in the plain of the Inachus, and on the Eurotas, which afterwards further grew and increased,—were able to erect the most magnificent buildings, and exercised their strength in navigation, plundering, and warlike expeditions; while the peaceful intercourse of the cantons found encouragement and protection in the common sacrifices of the north-eastern tribes at Anthela, of the seafaring cantons at Calauria, of the Ionians at Helice and on the isthmus. The progress of this development was interrupted by a movement emanating from the mountain-valleys of the north-west; almost all the territories which had been thus stimulated came into the hands of new inhabitants, at any rate of new masters; a considerable part of the culture already attained was annihilated in the course of tedious wars, and the arts of architecture and sculpture were greatly thrown back.

Of this great movement of the Greek tribes, a

repetition of the first occupation of the peninsula of Epirus, the tradition of the Greeks can only tell us legends. We are already acquainted with the transformation of Melkarth of Thebes into the hero Heracles, the ingenious interpolation of Heracles into the list of the supposed ancient rulers of Argos, of the Danaids, the descendants of Perseus. The son of Sthenelus, Eurystheus of Mycenæ, not only did not admit the sons of Heracles to the royal succession, which of right belonged to them, but persecuted them in order to destroy them; he met his death in the hostile expedition which was to have compelled the people of Attica to give them up. The Pelopids—Atreus, who had ascended the throne of Mycenæ after the fall of Eurystheus, and his descendants—had thus held the rulership of Mycenæ unjustly (pp. 85, 87). Heracles had not merely accomplished great deeds in the service of Eurystheus, but had also made war against the king of the land of Elis, Augeas, who refused him his reward for cleansing his stables, and had conquered him;[1] he had also marched against Neleus, King of Pylus, and killed eleven of his twelve sons; only one, Nestor, remained alive,[2] whom Heracles made king in Pylos—a tradition invented from the mythus of Melkarth and his descent into the lower world; the conflict of the god at the gate of the dead (*ἐν Πύλῳ ἐν νεκύεσσι*)[3] was transferred to Pylus in the Peloponnesus. Here, in the Peloponnesus, moreover, Heracles had conquered Hippocoon, who had dethroned his brother Tyndareus, King of Sparta, and taken possession of the kingdom; he re-established Tyndareus in his land, upon condition that he

[1] Pindar, *Olymp.* 11, 28-30.
[2] *Il.* 11, 692.
[3] *Il.* 5, 395 ff.

should leave it to the sons of Heracles.[1] Ægimius, King of the Dorians, who dwelt in the north-west of Thessaly, in Hestiæotis (pp. 20, 30), was hard pressed or already driven out by Coronus, son of Cæneus, King of the Lapithæ, on the lower Peneus. Heracles granted Ægimius help and restoration, as Ephorus tells us; while, on the other hand, Ægimius bound himself to make over to Heracles the third part of his dominions, and to appoint Hyllus, the son of Heracles, as his heir, to the exclusion of his own two sons, Dymas and Pamphylus.[2] These deeds of Heracles gave to his descendants the clearest right, not only to the throne in Argos, but also in Laconia and Pylus, and in the country of the Epeans and Pisatæ; they also conferred special claims to dominion over the tribe of the Dorians. The claims were as clear as daylight; since these fables were all invented for the express establishment of them.

Isocrates makes Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, King of Sparta, relate the following story: The sons of Heracles were brought into many dangers and wanderings through the power of their enemies; but after the death of Eurystheus they had established themselves side by side with the Dorians. In the third generation they came to Delphi to enquire certain things of the god: he, however, did not answer their enquiries, but commanded them to return to their own country. Then they bethought them that Argos belonged to them, since, after the death of Eurystheus, they alone remained of all the race of Perseus; that Heracles had received Laconia from Tyndareus whom he reinstated, that he had conquered Messenia, and

[1] Diodor. 4, 30; Apollod. 2, 7, 2; 3; 3, 10, 5; Pausan. 2, 18, 7.
[2] Ephor. *Fragm.* 10 M; Strabo, p. 427.

the Ozolian Locrians, in order to pass the narrow strip of sea at Rhium (the place where the ships were built received from this the name of Naupactus);[1] and when the oracle commanded the Heraclidæ to take the three-eyed man for leader, there met them on horseback Oxylus the Ætolian, who had lost one eye by a wound from an arrow. Oxylus, according to the statement of Ephorus, was a descendant of Ætolus, who in ancient time was driven out from Elis by Salmoneus, the Prince of the Epeans and Pisatæ, and had gone to Ætolia and given his name to that country. Oxylus, on the promise that the land of Elis should fall to him, undertook the command.[2]

In Mycenæ Atreus had been succeeded on the throne by his son Agamemnon, Agamemnon by his son Orestes, Orestes by his son Tisamenus, whom Hermione, daughter of Menelaus and Helen, had borne to him. As the heir of Orestes and Menelaus, Tisamenus ruled over Argos and Laconia. The Locrians had promised the Peloponnesians to give them a sign by lighting fires, if ever it happened that the Heraclidæ attempted, not to cross the isthmus, but to sail over the strip of sea at Rhium; but so far from this, they did the opposite, and, when the Heraclidæ came to them, rendered assistance so that the Heraclidæ could accomplish the passage in perfect safety: and the Peloponnesians, through the treachery of the Locrians, were surprised in their country. This gave rise to the proverb "Locrian covenants."[3] According to another version, Temenus sent the Peloponnesians pretended deserters from

[1] Ephor. *Fragm.* 14 M.

[2] Ephor. *Fragm.* 15 M; Apollod. 2, 8, 2. Rather differing from this, Pausan. 5, 3, 5. [3] Polyb. 12, 12[b]. In a different sense, Polyæn. 1, 9.

Locris, who informed them that the ships were only built for a pretext, and that the Heraclidæ intended to go to the isthmus. Thither, therefore, the Peloponnesians marched, and the Heraclidæ were able to land undisturbed.[1] Oxylus did not lead them through Elis, fearing that if they saw the fruitfulness of that land they might not give it to him, but through Arcadia.[2] Temenus then fortified a citadel near Argos, and from thence carried on war with Tisamenus and the Achæans; they were overcome and driven out of Argos and Lacedæmon. Then Tisamenus turned with the Achæans towards the north coast of the Peloponnesus, against the Ionians, who here possessed the coast-land on the Gulf of Corinth: a battle was fought. The Achæans were victorious and divided the land among them, the Ionians fled to Attica."[3] Oxylus marched with the Ætolians against the Epeans in Elis. They, being prepared for resistance, opposed him, and as the armies were of equal strength, the strife, according to old custom among the Greeks, was to be decided by single combat, for which Degmenus the Epean and Pyræchmes the Ætolian were chosen. Degmenus came lightly armed, with his bow, in the hope of overcoming his heavily-armed adversary at a distance, but when Pyræchmes perceived his design, he took his sling and a bag of stones, for it happened that the Ætolians had a short time before discovered the use of the sling. As the sling reached farther than the bow, Degmenus fell, and the Ætolians gained the country, and drove out the Epeans.[4] But the sons of Aristomachus drew lots for the territories out of which they had driven the Achæans; the lot gave

[1] Polyæn. *loc. cit.* [2] Pausan. 5, 4, 1. [3] Herod. 1, 145.
[4] Ephor. *Fragm.* 15 M; Pausan. 5, 4, 2.

there established Nestor as ruler, whom he had taken prisoner in battle; and when they perceived this meaning of the oracle, they assembled the army, promised the land which belonged to them as a possession in common to those who marched with them, but had the kingly dignity assured to themselves. Swearing this solemnly, and receiving in return equally solemn vows, they undertook the expedition; and, having conquered the inhabitants of these countries, they divided the kingdom into three parts.[1]

"When Hyllus, son of Heracles, encamped on the isthmus, opposite the Achæans and Ionians, who were then in Peloponnesus," says Herodotus, "he made the proposal that the armies should not fight; the Peloponnesians were to point out in their camp the man whom they considered their best warrior, and appoint him upon certain conditions for a single combat with Hyllus. This appeared feasible to the Peloponnesians, and both sides mutually swore that if Hyllus conquered the Peloponnesian, the Heraclidæ should return to their paternal inheritance, but that if Hyllus were vanquished, the Heraclidæ should lead away their army, and make no attempt for a hundred years to return to the Peloponnesus. Echemus, son of Aëropus, of the Peloponnesians, was named by his own consent for the single combat with Hyllus. Echemus was the victor and slew Hyllus."[2] In comparatively recent times there was shown in Tegea a monument of King Echemus and a relief of his combat with Hyllus.[3]

"When the Heraclidæ had conquered Eurystheus in Attica," says Diodorus, "they found allies after such a success, and Hyllus marched against the Pelopon-

[1] *Archidam.* p. 119, 120. [2] Herod. 9, 26.
[3] Pausan. 8, 5, 1; 8, 53, 10.

nesus. In Mycenæ ruled Atreus, who advanced to meet him with the Tegeatæ and some others. When the armies lay encamped upon the isthmus, they agreed that if Hyllus conquered in single combat, the kingdom of Eurystheus should fall to him; but if not, that the Heraclidæ were not to return to the Peloponnesus for fifty years. Hyllus was vanquished by King Echemus of Tegea, and the Heraclidæ returned to Tricorythus (near Marathon, in Attica) and there remained for fifty years."[1]

The more detailed legend says: Hyllus betook himself to Ægimius, King of the Dorians, on Mount Pindus, and he, according to his promise, adopted him as his son. At Delphi he received this oracle, that when the Heraclidæ should gather in the third fruit, they should return across the strait to Mycenæ. When Hyllus set out after the third harvest, it came to pass that he was conquered by Echemus. The son of Hyllus, Cleodæus, renewed the attempt to return, but in vain, and a similar attempt of Aristomachus, son of Cleodæus, was equally unsuccessful. He also fell in battle.[2] When the sons of Aristomachus—Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus—were grown up, Temenus complained at Delphi, that they, the Heraclidæ, in obedience to the oracle of the god, had met with disaster. The oracle replied that they had misinterpreted the saying; they were not to go home after the third harvest, but to return in the third generation after Hyllus, and the strait was not the isthmus, but the inlet of the sea which lies to the right of the isthmus (as seen from Delphi). Then Temenus collected his army, and built ships in the country of

[1] Diodor. 4, 58.

[2] Herod. 6, 52; Apollod. 2, 8, 2; Pausan. 2, 7, 6

Argos to Temenus, the eldest of the three brothers, Messenia to Cresphontes, Laconia to Aristodemus.[1]

The motives to which most of the features of this story owe their origin are quite perceptible. If the descendants of Heracles had a right to the throne of Argos, why did not they immediately make good their right? The legend answers first: "Eurystheus persecuted them; they were compelled to flee." Whither did they flee? Marathon was an ancient seat of the worship of Melkarth, and now of the worship of Heracles (p. 62); hither, to the region of Marathon, the sons of Heracles must have fled; accordingly, in Attica they must have found refuge; here, on the boundary of the region of Marathon near Pallene, Eurystheus must have been defeated, and must have fallen; from hence the pretended descendants of Heracles must have betaken themselves to the Dorians, since their princes were certainly descended from Heracles, and King Ægimius must now have fulfilled the condition, under which Heracles had restored him his land. The son of Heracles was called Hyllus, because the tribe of Dorians to which their princes belonged, or rather to which they were subsequently allotted, bore the name of Hylleis; another branch of Dorians called itself the Dymanes; the third, that of the Pamphyli, shows by its name that it first grew up during the wars in the Peloponnesus, from the annexation of another warlike people to the two branches of the Dorians. This arrangement of the three tribes may have grown up in the war period, but it more probably first arose

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But why, after Hyllus has become King of the Dorians, after the death of Ægimius, do not the Heraclidæ then at least come to the throne of Argos? The subsequent princes of Argos, of Doric descent, could not altogether abolish Agamemnon and the war against Ilium, *i.e.* remove them from the tradition; Atreus, Agamemnon, Orestes, and Tisamenus must have reigned before the Doric princes had won the supremacy. These four generations required four generations in the race of Heracles. Accordingly, Hyllus was opposed to Atreus, Cleodæus to Agamemnon, Aristomachus to Orestes. The legend consequently makes each of these three Heraclidæ attempt a return and fail. The fourth generation alone, the brothers Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus, who stand over against Tisamenus the Pelopid, at last succeed. The three intermediate generations are, according to the computation of Herodotus, of the length of a generation, equal to one hundred years; hence his story of the treaty between Atreus and Hyllus, that in case Hyllus should be defeated in the combat, the Heraclidæ should refrain from any fresh attempt at a return for one hundred years. In Diodorus this respite is shortened, according to the scheme which placed the return of the Heraclidæ eighty years after the fall of Ilium, but assumed the migration of the Achæans to Asia to have been fifty years after the invasion of the Dorians. That the attacks of the Dorians must have been wrecked on the isthmus is manifestly proved by the fact that there was no other entrance by land to the Peloponnesus, and that subsequently the Spartans, after they had attained their hegemony there, loved to con-

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fine themselves to its protection. The single combat of Hyllus with King Echemus of Tegea may be based upon an event which cannot indeed have occurred on the isthmus, viz. an abortive attack of the Dorians who had invaded the Peloponnesus, on the Arcadians of Tegea. The casting of lots by the three sons of Aristomachus, the Heraclid,—Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus,—for the conquered land, is merely founded on the circumstance that in Argos, Laconia, and Messenia, Dorians attained the dominion; accordingly, the founders of these three states were regarded as brothers, and as Argos was the most important state among them, and lasted a long time, Temenus was of course the eldest of the three brothers.

Consequently the historical result of the review of this complex of legends is merely that Dorian tribes, strengthened by Ætolians and Locrians, crossed the Corinthian gulf and invaded the Peloponnesus; that they settled here—the Ætolians in the region of the Peneus, the Dorians on the Pamisus, on the Eurotas, and on the Inachus; and that they founded in these countries kingdoms whose princes afterwards traced their descent to Heracles.

These changes in the Peloponnesus had other reasons than the fictitious right of a fictitious hero to the throne of Argos. Herodotus tells us that the Thessalians, a tribe of Thesprotians,—they dwelt in Epirus, in the valley of the Thyamis and in the region of Dodona,—broke forth from Epirus and marched over the central chain of mountains.[1] The Thessalians crossed the mountains, conquered the country on the Peneus, settled there, and gave their name to the largest and most productive of the Greek territories.[2] The

[1] *Supra*, p. 26; Herod. 2, 56; 7, 176; 8, 47; Strabo, pp. 443, 498.
[2] Herod. 7, 176.

ancient population of the basin of the Peneus was partly driven out, and partly subjugated by the immigrant Thessalians. Thucydides says that the race which dwelt to the south of the upper Peneus and on its southern tributaries, especially on the Curalius round Arne (afterwards Cierium), the Arnæans, were driven out by the Thessalians; the Arnæans went away to the south and took possession of the land of the Cadmeans, which is now called Bœotia.[1] Polyænus relates that Thessalus, who led the Thessalians, became by a stratagem ruler of the Arnæans. On a dark night he made his people raise torches and lights on the mountains round about the plain, and then hide them again. The Arnæans thought they were surrounded with lightnings, and prayed for mercy.[2] The migrating portion of the Hestiæans, who dwelt on the upper Peneus, went southwards, like the Arnæans, and found refuge with the Ionians on the island of Eubœa. The tribe which dwelt on the lower Peneus, to which the name of Pelasgians still clung, fled like their neighbours the Lapithæ, and the Hestiæans and Arnæans, to the south.[3] Of the ancient inhabitants of the basin of the Peneus, the Perrhæbians maintained themselves on the southern declivity of Mount Olympus, the Magnetes on Mount Pelion, the Phthiotes, who retained the name of Achæans, on Mount Othrys, the Dolopians and Ænians on the eastern slope of Mount Pindus. The Arnæans, led by their king Opheltas and the prophet Peripoltas,[4] succeeded in conquering

[1] *Supra*, p. 30; Thucyd. 1, 12. The supposed extension of the land of the Arnæans follows from the revival of the name Curalius on the part of the emigrants at Coronea in Bœotia.
[2] Polyæn. 1, 12.
[3] Thucyd. 2, 101; 4, 78; 8, 3; Strabo, p. 439; Athenæus, p. 265.
[4] Plut. *Cimon*, 1.

the Minyæ of Orchomenus, and the Cadmeans in the valley-basin of the Copaic lake. In this territory the Arnæans continued to bear rule, and were called after the old name of the country, rich in cattle—Bœotians. The Pelasgians and Lapithæ who fled from the Peneus, like the Minyæ from Iolchus and Orchomenus, and the Cadmeans from Thebes, found refuge in Attica.

Among the races dispossessed from their ancient abodes by the immigration of the Thessalians were the Dorians. They had settled to the north of the Arnæans, in the north-west corner of the basin of the Peneus, in the territory of Hestiæotis, on the eastern slope of Mount Pindus.[1] They seem to have been the first, with the Hestiæans and Arnæans, to encounter the shock of the Thessalians when they broke in over the mountains. They, too, went southwards, and found new abodes in a high valley between the southern slopes of Mount Oeta and the northern side of Mount Parnassus. It was traversed by a stream, the Pindus, which flowed down to the Bœotian Cephissus.[2] The Dryopians, who possessed this region, were driven out; they won new settlements at Styra and Carystus on the island of Eubœa, and at Asine and Hermione on the southern shore of the peninsula of Argos.[3] The Dorians founded, not far from the sources of the Pindus, the town of the same name, and also Erineus, Bœum,

[1] Herod. 1, 56; Andron ap. Strab. 475. If Herodotus represents the Dorians as living in Phthia before their settlement in Hestiæotis under King Deucalion, the reason is that he must bring them to the Phthiotian Hellas in order to make them Hellenes (*supra*, p. 20; *Il.* 2, 683; Pindar. *Olymp.* 8, 30). It is quite inexplicable how Herodotus, *loc. cit.*, can describe Hestiæotis as situated between Olympus and Ossa.

[2] Strabo, p. 427.

[3] Herod. 1, 56; 7, 30; 8, 43; Pausan. 4, 34, 9; 5, 1, 2. Heracles had accordingly conquered the Dryopians before the Dorians, in favour of Ceyx of Trachis and of Apollo of Delphi (Diodor. 4, 34, 37; Apollod. 2, 7, 7).

and Cytinium. But the little valley did not suffice for the new inhabitants. The greater number departed to conquer more spacious abodes for themselves. "Breaking forth from Pindus," sings Pindar; "leaving the windy Erineus," sings Tyrtæus, "the Dorians reached the broad island of Pelops."[1] They first turned southwards from their former home into the region of the Locrians and Ætolians, and from hence, being strengthened chiefly by the Ætolians, passed over the strait which separates Ætolia from the Peloponnesus.

The course which the strangers then took is not easy to determine. It was not the establishment of the right of Heracles to the throne of Argos that they sought, but booty and land. We may suppose that the armies of the invaders threw themselves first upon the fruitful country lying nearest to them, the region at the mouth of the Peloponnesian Peneus. It was the Ætolian portion of the immigrants who here conquered for themselves new abodes. The Epeans, who dwelt on the banks of the Peneus, were overcome, driven out, or made slaves; the legend represents the war, which undoubtedly lasted long, as at once decided by single combat (p. 205). The conquerors divided among them the land on the Peneus, excellent for agriculture and pasture; the slaves, obtained in battle at the conquest, attended to the cultivation of the ground, and looked after the herds of their new masters.[2] The chief town of the new commonwealth, the seat of Oxylus, was Elis, on the left bank of the Peneus, where the river enters the plain along the

[1] Pindar, *Pyth.* 1, 65; Tyrtæi, *Fragm.* 2; Bergk.

[2] Ephor. *Fragm.* 15 M; Strabo, p. 354; Pausan. 5, 4, 1. 2. When Strabo, *loc. cit.*, and Pausanias represent the Epeans as remaining in the country with equal rights, this statement contradicts that of Ephorus, *loc. cit.*

coast. Oxylus left the dominion which he had won, to his descendants, first to Laias, after him to Iphitus.[1] Their posterity who gained herds, lands, and slaves, then became the nobles of the new state, which, either from the district or from the new capital city, received the name of Elis. The Eleans gradually extended their territory and supremacy in many conflicts with the ancient population. The Pisatæ lost the lower valley of the Alpheus to the Eleans; they were restricted to the upper valley, the mountains on the edge of the Arcadian highlands.[2]

The Ætolians formed the chief part of the invading hosts, and of course, therefore, had for their share the best and very productive region which lay nearest. The Dorians had to go farther and to fight more. Oxylus, so the legend has already told us, led the Dorians through Arcadia; in the combat of Hyllus with Echemus of Tegea we recognised a collision of the Dorians with the Arcadians of Tegea; the Spartan legend tells of ancient battles between the ancestors of their kings and the Arcadians; lastly, we hear that the Heraclidæ had reconciled themselves by a treaty with Cypselus, King of the Arcadians of Basilis or Trapezus, on the upper Alpheus, and that Cresphontes, King of the Dorians, had married the daughter of Cypselus.[3] From this we may conclude that the

[1] Pausan. 5, 9, 4.

[2] The Epeans, having fled to the south of the Alpheus, no doubt only maintained their freedom there until they also became Periœci of Elis. The subjugation of the Lower Pisatis follows from the circumstance that the Pisatian from Dyspontium (Strabo, p. 356), who conquers in *Olymp.* 2, is called an Elean of Dyspontium. Only after the year 800 B.C. did the Minyans establish themselves in Triphylia in opposition to the Caucones and Paroreatæ without encountering the Eleans, and Strabo expressly states that the Eleans only became rulers of Triphylia after the Messenian wars through the assistance of the Spartans (pp. 355, 358). [3] Polyæn. 1, 7; Pausan. 4, 3, 6; 8, 5, 6; 8, 29, 5.

Dorians, ascending the Alpheus, tried to gain settlements there or to penetrate through Arcadia. That Cresphontes, the supposed leader of the Dorians who conquered the upper plain of Messenia, the region of Stenyclarus in the neighbourhood of Trapezus and Basilis, should become the son-in-law of the Arcadian prince, points to the fact that the Dorians, with the help of the Arcadians, succeeded in making the first settlement in the south-west of Arcadia. They took from Basilis the northern rim of both the upper plains in which the tableland of the interior declines to the sea, close to the border of Arcadia. Stenyclarus continued to be the seat of the descendants of the conquerors' leader. From hence the Dorians pressed on southwards, against the Achæans in the lower plain, against the Pylians, and afterwards against Pylus itself. The princes and nobles of the Pylians fled to Attica. The ancient citadel of Pylus, in spite of its mighty encircling walls built of rough blocks of stone, had not been able to save them from this fate.[1] From the conquered territory, from Stenyclarus, or from the lower plain of Messenia, another portion of the Doric armies seems then to have crossed Mount Taygetus, in order to take possession of the valley of the Eurotas. The Dorians established themselves here on the middle course of the Eurotas, and on the Oenus. But they were unable to overcome the force which the Achæans opposed to them at Therapne and Amyclæ; nor were those Dorians successful who went against the Arcadians of Tegea, northwards from the Oenus. The single combat of Echemus of Tegea is probably to be connected with this expedition. It was this resistance which caused part of the Dorians who

[1] Bursian, *Geograph.* 2, 177.

had settled in the region of the Eurotas and on the Oenus, to retire across the Parnon, to the east coast of the Peloponnesus, to the country of the Cynurians (p. 32), whom they conquered. From hence this host turned north towards ancient Argos. The legend, as we have seen, relates that Temenus built a citadel on the shore over against Argos, and from hence carried on war against Tisamenus and the Achæans. The city of Argos lay three miles above the place where the Inachus falls into the sea. At its mouth the Dorians built the fortress, from which they intended to attack the Argives; in this way they cut off Argos from the sea. Thus it would seem that the Dorians from the coast of Cynuria landed in ships in the bay of Argos, and that they fortified themselves in a citadel which they could protect and maintain from the sea. The fortress received the name of Temenus, unless the legend has derived the name from that of the fortress.[1] The castle of the Dorians on the sea points to a struggle of long duration. Polyænus relates that the Dorians at last, by means of a clever device of Deiphontes, the son-in-law of Temenus, tempted the Argives to battle. Deiphontes had gone with his troops on board ship, anchored his vessels in a place of concealment, and, as soon as his spies reported, "The Dorians collect plunder, the Argives are out of the camp defending it," he sprang with his men from the ships, and took the camp, with the old men and the women and children. To save these the Argives gave up their land and cities to the Dorians.[2]

[1] Strabo, p. 368.

[2] Polyæn. 2, 12; Pausan. 2, 38; 1, 2, 19; 1, 2. The fortification of the Temenium, as subsequently that of Solygeus near Corinth, shows that the attacks from the sea were here successful. In order to attack

Argos was at last, by whatever means, conquered. The dominion of the Pelopidæ was at an end, even Mycenæ and Tiryns became subject to the Dorians.

In the course of long expeditions and battles the Dorians had first settled in Stenyclarus, then on the upper Eurotas, finally in Argos. When Argos, manifestly the last of these settlements, had developed into a considerable state, the legend of the return of the Heraclidæ was invented; *i.e.* the conquest of the south and east of the Peloponnesus by the Dorians, was clothed in the fiction of the assertion of Heracles' right of inheritance by his descendants. Greek princes, however, could not trace their descent back to Heracles, until the warlike Melkarth, the Archal (Archaleus) of the Phœnicians, who, after the expulsion of the Phœnicians from the Cadmea, had been worshipped here by them, and had become for the Greeks the hero Heracles. Driven from Hestiæotis, the Dorians had settled between Mounts Oeta and Parnassus. Heracles was said to have burned himself to death on Mount Oeta, and to have been taken up to the gods. After their successes the Dorians would naturally try to represent themselves as equal in nobility of descent to the ancient and famous princely houses expelled by them from Argos, Laconia, and Pylus, and to carry back their genealogy to a hero of the north, from whence they had come; as such, Heracles, now become the hero of their second home, was manifestly indicated to them. A further step might then be possible, but only when a considerable time had elapsed after the taking of Argos; viz. to insert the hero of Oeta, transplanted

Argos from the sea the Dorians must have possessed a coast territory which can only be found in Cynuria; that a separate Doric host sailed against Argos from the four Doric cities cannot be supposed.

from the Cadmea to Argos, and made the first ancestor of the tribe of the Atridæ of Argos, into the race of the Danaids of Argos. On the other hand, the kingly dignity must still have been in full favour among the Dorians at Argos, to enable them to found the right of conquest on the claim of princely races. And if these races were represented as springing from three brothers, at the time the legend was formed, the three Doric states, Argos, Laconia, and Messenia, must still have been in existence side by side. This was decidedly no longer the case, after the time of Phidon, King of Argos, and after the attack of the Spartans upon Messenia, *i.e.* after the middle of the eighth century. The legend of the three brothers, great-grandsons of Hyllus, who cast lots for their common conquests, must have arisen at any rate before 740 B.C. in the first third or the first half of the eighth century. It evidently emanated from Argos, from the ancestors of Phidon, or from Phidon himself. It points out Argos as the inheritance of the most ancient descendants of Heracles, and founds upon this the precedence of that state over the neighbouring states of Laconia and Messenia. The kings of Messenia are called after their tribal progenitor Æpytidæ; those of the Spartans, Agidæ and Eurypontidæ, who were preceded by Cresphontes and Aristodemus as the descendants of Heracles. The kings of Sparta adopted this genealogy; they did not choose to be behind the kings of Argos in noble descent.

The whole north coast of the Peloponnesus from Dyme to Trœzen was occupied by Ionians. These settlements were subsequently lost to them, either directly or indirectly, through the Dorian conquests.

The portion of the Achæans of Argos who could not submit to the dominion of the Dorians left the country, and, yielding to the impulse given by the Dorians from the Temenium, *i.e.* from east to west, they turned to the Ionian region on the shore of the Gulf of Corinth. Herodotus tells us that the Ionians of the coast, the Ægialieis, were defeated by the Achæans, that they fled to Helice and from thence to Attica; that these Achæans then founded twelve cities in the land of the Ionians—Pellene, Ægeira, Ægæ, Bura, Helice, Ægium, Rhypes, Patræ, Pharæ, Olenus, Dyme, and Tritæa.[1] Ephorus regards Tisamenus as the founder of this new settlement of the Achæans.[2] Polybius says: "Tisamenus was the son of Orestes. Driven from Sparta by the return of the Heraclidæ, he conquered the region of Achæa, and his descendants were kings here without interruption until Ogyges."[3] He afterwards enters more into detail: "Tisamenus led the Achæans from Argos to the Ionians, and begged for admittance into their territory. But the princes of the Ionians refused this request; a battle was fought, Tisamenus indeed fell; but the Achæans conquered, and shut up the Ionians in Helice. Then a treaty was made, the Ionians departed, and the Achæans buried the body of Tisamenus in Helice, and divided the land among themselves.[4] The Ionians of the coast found refuge in Attica; they found here many other fugitives from the north and south, and a man from a tribe that had fled from Pylus ruled the land.

If the Ionians on the north-west shore of the Peloponnesus were on their side obliged to give way to the Achæans, whom the Dorians had expelled, the Ionians

[1] Herod. 1, 145; 7, 94; 8, 73.
[2] Ephor. *Fragm.* 16 M.
[3] Polyb. 2, 41.
[4] Pausan. 2, 18; 7, 7; 1, 7, 8.

on the north-east coast succumbed to the Dorians themselves. Against the city which was even at that time no doubt the chief place of the Ionians, against Corinth, the seaport town on the isthmus, Aletes (*i.e.* the wandering[1]), son of Hippotes, led Doric armies, when the sons of Propodas, Doridas and Hyanthidas, were rulers (p. 100). They attacked the city, as their countrymen had attacked Argos, by establishing themselves on a hill—Mount Solygeus—three leagues from Corinth, on the Bay of Cenchreæ, near the shore. Then ensued the attack upon Corinth as upon Argos from the sea, evidently from the coast of Argos.[2] The Ionians of Corinth were overthrown or submitted. Pausanias says that Doridas and Hyanthidas had given over their sovereignty to Aletes and remained at Corinth, but that the people of Corinth were conquered and driven out of the country.[3] Pindar calls the Corinthians "children of Aletes."[4] Nevertheless the legend indicates in the names of the two princes who were ruling at the time of the Dorian invasion, resigned their authority and remained in Corinth, the relation into which the Dorians entered with the ancient population of Corinth. In spite of the long conflict which we must suppose to have preceded the assault on Mount Solygeus, no complete expulsion or enslaving of the old inhabitants took place here. The Dorians, no doubt, took the foremost rank, but the

[1] The name is explained by the circumstance that Hippotes slew Carnus in the camp of the Dorians, and was therefore obliged to take to flight and become a wanderer, *Con. narrat.* 26.

[2] Thucyd. 4, 44, 43; Bursian, *Geograph.* 2, 12.

[3] Pausan. 2, 4, 3; *Con. narrat.* 26.

[4] *Olymp.* 13, 14. The *Scholia* observe on this passage that Didymus maintains that Aletes was not the founder of Corinth, but became king of that city in the thirtieth year after the arrival of the Dorians in the Peloponnesus.

ancient population found room beside them in the new commune; this is the agreement of the two brothers with Aletes and the transfer of the sovereignty to him; Doridas, the elder brother, represents the immigrant Dorians; Hyanthidas, the younger, the Ionians now combined with the Dorians. Aletes, it is said, united the collective population, and divided it into eight tribes.[1] According to this, five tribes of other origin are here found side by side with the three Doric tribes (p. 206). These five consisted of the old inhabitants, who were thus divided, and also of races of other descent, *e.g.* the Lapithæ, who, driven out of Thessaly, fled to the north coast of the Peloponnesus, joined in the assault of the Dorians on Corinth, and were received into these five tribes.[2]

King Temenus had, according to the legend, four sons—Ceisus, Phalces, Cerynes, and Agæus—and a daughter named Hyrnetho. Temenus had married her to Deïphontes, a descendant of Ctesippus, son of Heracles. As Temenus paid more honour to Deïphontes, to whom he owed the conquest of Argos (p. 214), than to his own sons, these were seized with

[1] Suidas, πάντα ὀκτώ.

[2] Book 4, ch. 3. To enter further into the legends of Aletes concerning the oracle he received at Dodona, of the daughter of Creon, who opened the gate to him, and of the earth-clod (Durid. *Fragm.* M, and *Schol.* Pind. *Nem.* 7, 155), seems to me unnecessary. The earth-clod has also a place in the legend of the founding of Cyrene; the love of the king's daughter for the leader of the strangers is of common recurrence. The oracle of Dodona is said to explain the word Διὸς Κόρινθος. The story of the burning of the daughters of Creon, Hellotis, etc., in the temple of Athena, who were destroyed by the fire kindled by the conquerors, refers to the Hellotia, celebrated to the Phœnician Athena, *i.e.* Hellotis-Europe, and to the sacrifices of children offered to her (p. 61). Aletes, then, is said to have founded this worship, which the immigrant Dorians unquestionably found in existence; and it does not seem to me in any case to follow from this that Aletes was a Phœnician god, as has been maintained.

anxiety lest he should also appoint Deïphontes his heir to the kingdom. When Temenus, who was marching out from Argos against his enemies, and victory being doubtful, confided the most important undertakings to Deïphontes, the sons hired assassins against their father (Agæus alone, the youngest son, had no part in the conspiracy[1]), who mortally wounded Temenus as he was bathing in the river.[2] He was borne into the camp, gave over the kingdom to Hyrnetho and Deïphontes, interpreted to them the oracle on the issue of the war, and died without knowing who were his murderers. The army also transferred the sovereignty to Deïphontes, but the sons of Temenus denied their crime, and Ceisus was made ruler. Temenus was buried in his citadel, in the Temenium, and the Argives did honour to his memory by libations at his tomb. As Ceisus was now King of Argos, Deïphontes left the country with his adherents (of whom there were many), and marched against the Ionians of Epidaurus.[3] Pityreus, who reigned at Epidaurus, gave up the land without a battle, and went with his followers to Attica. Deïphontes was lord of Epidaurus, but even here the sons of Temenus pursued him in order to carry off Hyrnetho, who was killed in this attempt. The Ionians of Epidaurus, who had fled to Attica, went in ships under the leadership of Procles, son of Pityreus, to seek another home; meanwhile the Dorians, with Deïphontes at Epidaurus, conquered also the island of Ægina, and founded a second Epidaurus on the south-east coast of the Peloponnesus.[4] But the Ionians had

[1] Nicol. Damasc. *Cod. Escor.* f. 78; ap. Müll. *Fragm. H. G.* 2, 8.
[2] Nicol. Damasc. *Fragm.* 41; Diod. *Excerpt. de insidiis*, ap. Müll. *loc. cit.*
[3] So in Pausan. 2, 26, 2. In Nicol. the story is otherwise related, but the fragment does not allow us to recognise the advance.
[4] Pausan. 3, 23, 4.

not all left Epidaurus; we find a fourth tribe there besides the three Doric tribes.[1] The Dorians who were led by Ægæus, the fourth son of Temenus, against the Ionians of Trœzen, are said to have been voluntarily received by the latter into their state.[2] Phalces, the second son of Temenus, marched against Sicyon. Here, as Pausanias tells us, Lacestades the Heraclid, son of Hippolytus, already reigned over the Ionians. Phalces got possession of the city by a night attack, and then divided the sovereignty with Lacestades. It is certain that in Sicyon a portion of the ancient population was received into the Doric community. Besides the three Doric tribes of the Hylleis, Pamphyli, and Dymanes, we find the Ionic inhabitants united into a fourth tribe which bore the name of Ægialieis, the ancient distinctive appellation of the Ionians, on the north-west coast of the Peloponnesus. Rhegnidas, son of Phalces, marched with Dorians of Sicyon and Dorians of Argos against Phlius; if the Phliasians would give him the sovereignty, and his Dorians the necessary amount of land, he said they should remain in their country. The Phliasians yielded, but not all; a portion of them migrated, and found beyond the sea, in union with other Ionians, a new abode.[3]

The new Doric, or Doricised communities on Ionian soil,—Epidaurus, Trœzen, Ægina, Sicyon, and Phlius,—stood, with the exception of Corinth, in close connection with Argos. They were dependent on

[1] Pausan. 2, 26; 2, 7, 4, 2. The fourth tribe at Epidaurus is no doubt to be inferred from the history of Hyrnetho (Pausan. 2, 28, 3 *sqq.*) together with the synonymous tribe of the Hyrnathians at Argos, *C.I.G.* 1130-1131.

[2] Scymn. Ch. 533. In Strabo, who follows Ephorus, the name of Ægæus appears as Agelaus.

[3] Pausan. 2, 13; 1, 2.

Argos, which exercised the same pre-eminence over the eastern half of the Peloponnesus which Mycenæ had exercised among the Pelopidæ. In much later times we find these places uniting with Argos in common sacrifices to Apollo at Argos, and forming a confederation, at the head of which stood Argos and its kings. The legend expresses these relations by representing the cities as conquered and settled from Argos by the sons, the son-in-law, and the grandson of Temenus.

We found in our enquiry into the dates assigned to the oldest periods of Greek history that Eratosthenes, on the strength of the lists of Spartan kings, placed the beginning of the Spartan state, and therewith the irruption of the Ætolians and Dorians into the Peloponnesus, in the year 1103 B.C. The conquest of the basin of the Peneus and the conquest of Bœotia preceded the Ætolian and Dorian invasion of the Peloponnesus. The conquest of Thessaly by the Thessalians was accordingly placed thirty years earlier, in the year 1133 B.C.; the conquest of Bœotia by the Arnæans twenty years earlier, in 1123 B.C. What reasons there are against the year 1103, as the date of the Ætolian and Dorian invasion, and on what grounds it seems reasonable to place this invasion not much before 1000 B.C., we have already discussed. The impulse to this general movement, the immigration of the Thessalians into the country named after them, the dispossession of the Hestiæans, Dorians, and Arnæans, must, on the other hand, have preceded the irruption of the Ætolians and Dorians by more than thirty years; indeed it can have done so by little short of half a century. The Dorians, after their expulsion from the eastern slope of Pindus, settled between Mounts Oeta and Parnassus; their

first invasion of the Peloponnesus was made from here, according to the testimony of Tyrtæus; the Dryopians, whom the Dorians drove out from Oeta and Parnassus, had, before the arrival of the Dorians in the Peloponnesus, found new abodes at Hermione and Asine, on the north-east coast of the Peloponnesus. From their second home on Mount Oeta the wandering host of the Dorians first arrived at the Ætolians, and with them sailed across the Corinthian Gulf. Then follow those battles with the Epeans, the march along the Alpheus as far as Basilis, the attacks upon the south of the Peloponnesus, which were first directed against the upper plain of Messenia, the settlement on the upper Eurotas and on the Oenus, the attacks from Cynuria upon Argos, the expulsion of a considerable number of Achæans from Argos, the subjugation of Corinth, Sicyon, and Phlius. These wanderings and battles of the Dorians in the Peloponnesus must have occupied at least fifty years; before the middle of the tenth century the Dorians can scarcely have been in possession of the upper plain of Messenia, the upper Eurotas valley, and Argos; their conquests, their new commonwealths, can hardly have been consolidated earlier than that date. The whole of the migrations and conflicts, which constitute the second occupation of the peninsula and establish the new possessions of the Greek tribes, we can accordingly assign with some probability to the period between the years 1050 and 950 B.C.

CHAPTER II.

THE MIGRATION OF THE ACHÆANS.

THE irruption of the Thessalians into the basin of the Peneus, and of the Dorians into the Peloponnesus had ejected considerable portions of the old population from their abodes. The Arnæans, driven from the region of the Peneus, had in their turn forced the old population of the Copaic basin, the Minyæ and Cadmeans, into Attica; the Achæans, driven out of Pylus, had also fled to Attica, and the Achæans expelled from Argos had turned towards the northern shore of the Peloponnesus and dispossessed the Ionians who dwelt on the Corinthian Gulf. These, like the Ionians, who fled before the Dorians from the north-east coast of the Peloponnesus, found refuge in Attica. Not all the Achæans who were expelled from Argos by the irruption of the Dorians had sought or found a dwelling-place in the region which they conquered from the Ionians. A portion of them obtained a new fatherland at a distance, on the other side of the Ægean Sea, on the islands of Tenedos and Lesbos, on the west coast of Asia Minor.

In a eulogy of Aristagoras, one of the Prytanes of Tenedos, the small island opposite that coast, Pindar praises Pisander, the ancestor of Aristagoras "who with Orestes led the brazen-armed host of the Æolian

from Amyclæ to Tenedos."[1] The Achæans, who migrated from the south and north of the Greek peninsula, and settled in the north-west of Asia Minor, were afterwards called Æolians. Hellanicus says that Orestes led the Achæans before the Dorians to Lesbos, and the coast of the Teucrians.[2] Damon tells us in his *Atthis* that Orestes received at Delphi the response; that descendants of Agamemnon should restore the cities of the Troad and revive there the worship of the gods; after receiving this response, however, he died. In the next generation, Penthilus, son of Orestes, was commanded by the oracle to go to the extreme boundaries of Mysia; Penthilus collected an army and went.[3] In Strabo we read: Orestes, it is said, led the expedition, but died in Arcadia, and his son Penthilus assumed the command. The expedition met with many hindrances, and lasted for a long time. When Penthilus had allied with him in Bœotia a great number of Bœotians (*i.e.* a portion of the populations of Thebes and Orchomenus fighting against the Arnæans or already subjugated by them[4]), he went on to Thrace. Afterwards Echelaus (Archelaus), son of Penthilus, brought the army over to Asia, into the region where the town of Cyzicus was subsequently built. Gras, the youngest son of Echelaus, penetrated to the Granicus. From hence, being better equipped, he led the greatest part of the army to Lesbos and conquered the island. Cleuas, however, the son of Borus, and Malaus, who were likewise descendants of Agamemnon, had assembled their army at the same time as Penthilus; but the expedition of Penthilus preceded theirs, he having sooner passed over from

[1] *Nemea*, 11, 34. [2] *Schol.* Pind. *loc. cit.*; Tzetzes *ad Lycophr.* 1374.

Thrace to Asia, while Cleuas and Malaus had delayed a long while on Mount Phricium, not far from Thermopylæ, with the Locrians on the Euripus.[1] "Crossing over later, they built Cyme, and the immigrants spread themselves over the whole country which the poet (Homer) calls Troas."[2] Velleius observes that, after they had been driven about in long wanderings, the Æolians founded their cities in Asia.[3] Pausanias says: Penthilus, the illegitimate son of Orestes, took and colonised the island of Lesbos: afterwards Gras, the son of Echelaus, grandson of Penthilus, great-grandson of Orestes, led emigrants into the region now called Æolis.[4] Myrsilus of Methymna in Lesbos, who, in the third century before Christ, wrote the history of that island, relates: Echelaus was appointed, by the oracle of Delphi, leader of the emigrants to Lesbos; under him seven princes bore rule. An oracle commanded them, when they came with their ships to an anchorage on the coast of Lesbos called Mesogeus, to sacrifice a bull to Poseidon, but a maiden to Amphitrite and the Nereids. Then the seven princes cast lots among their daughters, and the lot fell upon the daughter of Smintheus. Then she was adorned, to be thrown into the sea when they reached the place. So it befell, and a youth of the army named Enalos (*i.e.* the man in the sea), who loved the maiden, threw himself with her into the water, but was borne by dolphins to shore.[5]

In historical times we find the islands of Tenedos and Lesbos in the hands of the Achæans, and on the coast of the mainland south-east from Lesbos Cyme,

[1] Strabo, p. 621. [2] Strabo, p. 582.
[3] Velleius, 1, 4. [4] Pausan. 3, 2, 1; 2, 18, 6.
[5] *Plut. de Sollertia anim.* 36; *Sept. Sap. conv.* 20. This narrative takes a different form in Athenæus (456).

with a number of smaller towns, and lastly Smyrna. We learn that the town of Mytilene, afterwards the capital of Lesbos, was first built upon a little island which lay close to the east coast of the great island;[1] that the founders of Cyme, after their landing, first founded Neonteichos (*i.e.* new fortress) at the foot of Mount Sardene, thirty stades from Larisa, which they attacked from the new stronghold, and after they had taken Larisa they built Cyme.[2] Another tradition, however, says that Cyme was first built and then Neonteichos.[3]

When the tradition places sons or grandsons of Orestes at the head of the migration, the statement is based upon the fact that princes ruled at Lesbos and Cyme, who traced their descent to Agamemnon and Atreus. Moreover, the local division of the Achæans in Asia is clearly perceptible, for their migration is towards the east and their settlements lie in two directions, which the tradition has translated into two great expeditions—the expedition of Penthilus and his descendants, and that of Cleuas and Malaus. The settlements in the first direction include the islands on the north-west coast of Asia at the entrance of the Hellespont: first Tenedos, then the small islands in the sound of Lesbos, lastly Lesbos itself. The second direction is towards the mainland, south from Lesbos, and a settlement is made in the bay afterwards called from the city of Elæa. The reason why the tradition makes the first expedition pass from the Peloponnesus to the land across the isthmus, through Thessaly to Thrace, and from thence to Asia over the Propontis, is evident.

[1] Diodor. 13, 79; Thucyd. 3, 6; Strabo, p. 617.

[2] Strabo, pp. 616, 622.

[3] The Homeric epigram calls Neonteichos Κύμης κούρη; according to the *Vita Homeri* it was built eight years after Cyme.

It was not only the Achæans from Argos and the valley of the Eurotas, but also the Achæans from the middle and north of Greece, who settled beyond the Ægean Sea. Strabo tells us, as we have already seen, that very many Bœotians, *i.e.* Cadmeans and Minyæ, yielding to the Arnæans, had been in the train of Penthilus (the relationship between the Lesbians and the Bœotians will be repeatedly brought into prominence later),[1] and it is certain that Achæans from Locris, and Magnetes from Thessaly, had a share in the colonies on the continent of Asia Minor. On the coast of Thrace, at the mouth of the Hebrus, and on the Thracian Chersonesus lay ancient Achæan settlements—Ænus, which Achæans from Lesbos are said to have founded in place of the Thracian city Poltybria (according to others it had been founded by Cymæans[2]); and Sestus, likewise a colony from Lesbos.[3] In the same way the passage of the strangers over the Propontis to the coast of Cyzicus is invented in order to claim these places—where magnificent Greek cities afterwards grew up and flourished—for the Greeks, through the landing of the first settlers, as the Homeric poems had represented the islands of Tenedos and Lesbos as conquered by Achilles.[4] Gras must then leave the continent of Asia to attack Lesbos, "when he was better equipped." According to the legend, Protesilaus, who had led warriors against Ilium from Phylace (in the territory of Phthiotis on the declivity of Mount Othrys), had first trodden the soil of Asia, but had also been the first to fall: he had his grave and temple at Elæus on the southern point of

[1] Thucyd. 3. 2; 7, 57; 8, 100.
[2] Scymn. Ch. 696; Steph. Byz. *sub voce;* Herod. 7, 58; Thucyd. 7, 57; Strabo, p. 329; Plut. *Apophth. imper.*, Πόλτυς.
[3] Scymn. Ch. 708; Herod. 9, 115.
[4] *Il.* 9, 129.

the Thracian Chersonesus, and here games were held in his honour as a hero. In the Homeric poems the battle rages most furiously round the ship of Protesilaus.[1] The part which the Locrians, the ancient inhabitants of Bœotia and the Magnetes, took in the migration from Argos shows that its course was northward through the peninsula; and the colonies of Ænus, Sestus, and Elæus prove that it passed through Thrace and over the Hellespont.

We may regard it as certain that the emigrants effected their journey and colonisation by sea. The expedition, had it been undertaken through the unknown and inaccessible regions along the Thracian coast, would certainly have failed. The islands there, opposite the coast, were kept in view as the goal of the voyage; the hosts of the Achæans which conquered Tenedos and Lesbos came in successive expeditions in ships; they had to encounter long and tedious conflicts indicated in the tradition by the length of the expedition and the succession of the leaders. The occupation of the island near Lesbos shows clearly how at first they contented themselves with very small gains, and how they were obliged to fortify themselves here in order that they might conquer the larger island of Lesbos by attacking it from hence. Once being lords of the island, the emigrants, reinforced by new armies, would have ventured on the continent, and it may well be that their first attempts to settle there may have failed, as is indicated in the legend by the failure of Gras upon the mainland and by the fall of Protesilaus. It is certain that without some knowledge of the islands and coasts

[1] *Il.* 13, 681; 15, 705; 2, 695, *sqq.*; Herod. 7, 33; 9, 116, 120; Strabo, p. 435.

in the neighbourhood of the Hellespont, the exiles from the peninsula would never have directed their course thither.

The princes, who afterwards ruled in Mytilene, the chief town of Lesbos, regarded Agamemnon as the ancestor of their tribe. Thus the older tradition might make Orestes the immediate leader of the expedition, and the later might represent his son, grandson, and great-grandson, as succeeding him in the command. And it was not only the royal house of Lesbos that traced its genealogy to the princes of their fatherland; we saw in Pindar's song that noble families of the isle of Tenedos regarded as their progenitors those who came over with the descendants of the princes of Argos from their ancient abodes. Pindar makes Orestes depart from Amyclæ to Asia for the reason that the Achæans kept possession of the lower valley of the Eurotas, and Amyclæ the key to it, more than a hundred years against the Dorians. Amyclæ only fell about the year 800 B.C. To the poet, the emigration first commences after the loss of the last territory of the Achæans on the Inachus and Eurotas.

Locrians from Mount Phrycium and Magnetes from Mount Pelion, from the mountainous coast in the region of the Peneus, yielding to the Thessalians who pressed in upon them, took part in the second, *i.e.* the more adventurous section of the migration, and in the *colonisation of the mainland.* To the tradition which tells us that these settlements on the continent were later than the occupation of Tenedos and Lesbos, we may give unconditional assent. Upon the continent, likewise, the strangers were obliged to content themselves with first building a fortress, and, under cover

of this, making war upon the ancient population; nor did they escape arduous labours in making farther advances. Farthest inland, up the river Hermus, the Magnesian emigrants, driven out by the irruption of the Thessalians on Mount Pelion and on the coast, pushed their colony; setting out, as it seems, from Cyme, they built Magnesia on a steep precipice of Mount Sipylus,[1] not very far from Sardis, the chief city of the Lydians. In the epic of the Greeks, the son of Peleus, *i.e.* son of Pelion, the man whom Chiron, the mountain-spirit of Pelion, had brought up, is the swiftest and boldest hero. Without him the rest can do nothing, as long as the war continues. The opposition of the northern Achæans to those of Argos is the foundation of the wrath of Achilles; the hero of Pelion overcomes Hector, *i.e.* the holder of the adversaries.

Twenty years after the occupation of Lesbos Cyme was founded, and eighteen years after Cyme Smyrna.[2] In an ancient poem, the colony of Cleuas and Malaus, the city of Cyme, is chiefly ascribed to the Locrians from Mount Phrycium (p. 226), and the appellation Phryconis, which Cyme bears, tells in favour of this statement. Strabo calls Cyme the greatest and bravest of the cities of the Æolians, *i.e.* of the Achæans in Asia. Cyme and Lesbos were the mother cities of nearly all the Æolian settlements on the continent, which once had numbered about thirty.[3] The southernmost colony of Cyme beyond Mount Sipylus, on the northern slope of which lay Magnesia, was Smyrna. "According to the counsel of ægis-bearing Zeus," we read in verses ascribed to Homer, "the people of

[1] *Vita Hom.* 2; Bœckh, *C.I.G.* No. 3137.
[2] *Vita Hom.* ch. 38. [3] Strabo, pp. 116, 621, 622.

Phricon, riders of swift horses, once when they had decided on war of mighty fire, surrounded with towers Æolian Smyrna, close to the sea, shaken by the waves, traversed by the clear water of the sacred Meles."[1] Smyrna lay on the southern shore of the bay stretching far inland, into which the Hermus empties itself, and at the mouth of the coast river Meles. Of the other settlements of Cyme there lay to the north of that city Ægæ, Myrina, Gryneum, Elæa, and Pitane, either near the coast or upon it, southwards from Cyme, in the valley of the Hermus; Neonteichos, Larisa, and Temnus, on a height on the right bank of the Hermus. These colonies were all situated very close together, with few surrounding territories.

The settlements of the Achæans in Asia are placed by chronographers in the middle of the twelfth, but also in the middle of the eleventh century before Christ. The first calculation proceeds on the assumption that Ilium fell in the year 1270 B.C., that the Dorians consequently invaded the Peloponnesus eighty years later (1190 B.C.), and that fifty years after this (1140 B.C.) the Achæans trod the soil of Asia. In 1140 B.C. Lesbos was conquered, twenty years afterwards (1120 B.C.) Cyme, and eighteen years after this (1102 B.C.) Smyrna was founded.[2] These intervals of time would lead to another result, if they were reckoned from the year which Eratosthenes fixed, on the strength of the Spartan lists of kings, for the irruption of the Dorians into the Peloponnesus—1103 B.C. Lesbos would then have been founded in 1053, Cyme in 1033, Smyrna 1015 B.C. According to this computation the Alexandrians did actually reckon the emigration of the Achæans; the determining interval is given in this case as in the

[1] Hom. *Epigr.* 4. [2] *Vita Hom.* ch. 38.

other by the fifty years after the invasion of the Dorians. The same interval, somewhat postponed, underlies the calculations of Jerome and Syncellus, according to whom Magnesia on Mount Sipylus was founded in 1052, Cyme in 1048, and Smyrna in 1046 B.C.[1] With the points of departure, the years of the fall of Ilium, these calculations also fall to the ground. According to the enquiries we have instituted above, we are restricted to the theory that the migration of the Achæans to Asia took place not very long after the beginning of 1000 B.C., that towards the middle of the tenth century Lesbos and Tenedos may first have been settled, and afterwards the colonies on the mainland.

The regions opposite to which, and in which, the Achæans established themselves were inhabited in the north, between the Hellespont and the Bay of Adramyttium, by tribes of the Teucrians; farther to the south by the Mysians, and at the mouth of the Hermus by the Lydians. The Phœnicians long carried on commerce with the whole coast, both with the shore of the Teucrians on the north and that of the Carians in the south. The Lydians found themselves from the beginning of the twelfth century B.C. under the dominion of a royal race, which traced its descent from the sun-god; in the tenth century the first steps in culture had already been attained; they understood weaving and other handicrafts, were in possession of a fortified town, and had made some advance in the art of coinage; there are in existence very ancient Lydian coins, oval bars of white gold, *i.e.* mixed gold and silver, with marks struck into them, and at a later

[1] Euseb. *Chron.* 2, 61 Schöne; Syncellus, p. 340 B. That Cyme in Asia and not Cumæ in Campania is meant will be made clear hereafter.

time adorned with figures of lions and bulls, the weight of which stamps them as pieces of the Syrian Phœnician talent. The Mysians were at an early stage of civilisation, and remained so; the Teucrians stood on a higher level. The commerce which had connected them with the Phœnicians, the stations which the Phœnicians had built on their coasts and on the islands opposite them no doubt assisted the Teucrians in this development. The *Iliad* names Lesbos the abode of Macar; the legend of Lesbos tells us that before the Achæans Macareus had ruled at Lesbos, had promulgated the first law there, and had called this law the lion; his daughters were Methymna, Mytilene, and Arisbe, *i.e.* the towns of the island.[1] In Rhodes, and other islands and places called after him, we have already recognised in Macareus the Greek form of the name of the Phœnician god Melkarth, whose symbol is the lion. Myrsilus of Methymna says, as we have seen, that seven princes bore rule under Echelaus, who led the Achæans to Lesbos; this number can scarcely be taken from the chief places of the island (there were but five); they are the eight supreme gods, the Cabiri of the Phœnicians; at the head of the seven stands the eighth, the sun-god. Strabo observes that the Cabiri of the Phœnicians were worshipped in some places of the Teucrians, at Hamaxitus and Scepsis. The name of the town Astyra in Ida, which worshipped a goddess called by the Greeks Artemis, points unmistakably to the Astarte-Ashera of the Phœnicians;[2] the Greek name of the town Adramyttium is founded on the Semitic appellation Hadramut, *i.e.* vestibule of the

[1] Diodor. 4, 83; Steph. Byz. Ἀρίσβη.

[2] Strabo, pp. 606, 613. Olshausen has shown in the *Hermes* (14, 145) that Astyra is Astarte, and that the odorous gum storax is so called from the goddess.

underworld; this name seems to have been taken from the extensive marshes at Adramyttium, and the miasma arising from them. At Cilla on the south coast, at Chryse on the east coast of the Teucrians, at Thymbra on the Scamander, as at Rhodes, a sun-god under the name of Smintheus (Zminthius on the coins) was invoked as protector against the field-mice and locusts, in the same way that Baal was worshipped as protector from the flies on the Syrian coast of Ekron;[1] and perhaps we may perceive in Ilos, the founder of Ilium in the Homeric poems, the Semitic name for god—El.

The excavations on the hill of Hissarlik, on which the site of the ancient Ilium has lately been sought, have brought to light in the lowest stratum, more than fifty feet below the present soil, great numbers of primitive implements and weapons, axes, hammers, and knives, made of stone and boars' teeth; together with them, and scarcely less primitive, vessels of pottery, manufactured without a wheel, with decorations scratched upon them, and some knives and weapons of copper. Similar vessels and implements have been found in a conical grave opened at Thymbra. The next highest stratum at Hissarlik yielded great pitchers with rude indications of the human face or the human form, tripods, goblets with great handles and running sharply to a point, vessels in the form of animals, all of burnt clay; vessels of bronze, lead, and electrum, *i.e.* mixed gold and silver; vessels of pottery, better shaped and adorned in the Phœnician manner, together with some gold ornaments of rude workmanship, and idols as rude. A third stratum above these two, but still below the

[1] Strabo, pp. 486, 506, 607.

remains of later settlements, and from twenty to thirty feet below the present soil, presented the remains of a surrounding wall of unhewn stones. Close to the west side of this enclosure were found axes, daggers, and kettles of bronze, vases and goblets of silver, fillets, bracelets, ear-rings, and cups of gold in moderate numbers; and also some thousands of very small and thin gold leaves and gold buttons. Work and ornamentation point to Babylonish, and here and there to Egyptian patterns, as ivory needles and pieces of ivory indicate commerce with the Phœnicians. The clay vessels most resemble those found on the islands of Thera and Melos; those of better workmanship the vessels of Cyprus: on one clay vessel found at Hissarlik there are traces of writing, apparently in the Cypriote character. In all three layers there are found bones of goats, sheep, oxen, swine, horses, deer, and hares, grains of wheat, peas, beans, and maize; in all three stone implements and axes of stone predominate (iron is nowhere met with), and vessels of clay, partly made by hand and partly on the wheel, the form and ornamentation of which are superior in the upper strata to those in the lower. The brass weapons, the axes, lances, and arrow-heads are generally cast; as far as we can judge from the remains, the houses were constructed of unhewn stones or mud walls; together with hunting and the breeding of cattle agriculture also was carried on. Commercial intercourse with the Phœnicians manifestly gave to the Teucrians who dwelt here a pattern and impulse for the progressive improvement of their pottery and their casting of metals. The ornaments of the third layer can only have been brought to them by the Phœnicians.

From Lesbos the Greek settlers, led by the kings

of Mytilene, descendants of Agamemnon, the Penthilidæ, gained a footing on the neighbouring coast of the Teucrians. They subdued and colonised almost the whole country. Strabo tells us that Archæanax (that is, old king) of Mytilene took the stones from the ruins of the city of Priam to make the wall round the new city of Sigeum, at the mouth of the Scamander, at the entrance of the Hellespont. On the coast of the Hellespont itself the Lesbians built Rhœteum and Dardanus, and, on the Gulf of Adramyttium, Assus.[1] Cebren, higher up the course of the Scamander, is described by Ephorus as an offshoot of his own city, a colony of Cyme.[2] Only on Mount Ida, at the sources of the Granicus, and at the sources of the Æsepus at Gergis and Scepsis, the Gergithæ, a tribe of Teucrians maintained itself under native princes, who afterwards boasted of their descent from Hector and Æneas. When, at a later period, those cities became, under Greek influence, first aristocracies and then democracies, these families received the royal title and certain rights of nobility.[3] When the Athenians, towards the end of the seventh century, tried to take possession of Sigeum, the Mytileneans declared that the country of the Teucrians belonged to them by right, as their ancestors had already fought and conquered the ancestors of the Teucrians. The Athenians would not allow this, but urged, on the other hand, that the Æolians had no better right to this region than all the Hellenes who had taken revenge for the rape of Helen.[4] "In ancient times," says Strabo, "most of the cities in the territory of Troas were

[1] Strabo, pp. 589, 599, 600; Steph. Byz. Ἄσσος; Alcæi *Fragm.* 118, Bergk.
[2] Harpocration Κέβρην.
[3] Herod. 5, 122; Strabo, p. 607.
[4] Herod. 5, 94.

Æolian, so that Ephorus (of Cyme) does not hesitate to call the whole coast from Abydus to Cyme, Æolis."[1]

Concerning the deeds of the kings of Cyme, the descendants of Cleuas and Malaus, we know little more than concerning those of the Penthilidæ, who ruled at Lesbos, of whom only the names of the founders, Gras and Echelaus, and the fortification of Archæanax at Sigeum have come down to us. We can only suppose that, during the rule of the descendants of Cleuas, the places lying round Cyme, the more distant Cebren on Ida, and Smyrna on the other side of Mount Sipylus, were founded. When King Telephanes was reigning in Cyme (he is said to have given attention to the culture of trees and forests in the neighbourhood of the city), King Ardys of Lydia, the first of this name (768-732 B.C.), took refuge in Cyme with his wife and daughter. A rebel had deposed him from his throne. At the end of two years the usurper was killed by a murderer whom he had himself hired against Ardys; an embassy of Lydians appeared in Cyme to request Ardys to reascend the throne, and Ardys complied with the request.[2] After Telephanes there reigned in Cyme King Agamemnon. His daughter Damodice, whose beauty and wisdom are extolled, became the wife of Midas, King of Phrygia, who ascended the throne in 738 B.C., and put an end to his own life in 696 B.C., when the Cimmerians invaded his country.[3] Of King Agamemnon we are told that he first coined money for the people of Cyme. Babylon had possessed from of old fixed standards of weight and measure, which had spread far and wide from the land of the Euphrates to Syria

[1] Strabo, p. 599. [2] Heracl. Pont. *Fragm.* 11 M.
[3] Heracl. Pont. *loc. cit.*; Plut. *De Superst.* 8.

and to Phœnicia, to the Semitic races of Asia Minor. But the Babylonians and Phœnicians remained satisfied with pieces of the precious metals of the proper weight for their commerce, with bars of gold and silver. The Lydians, according to the statement of the Greeks, were the first who coined money, *i.e.* guaranteed the value of the pieces by the authority of the state; and some stamped bars (p. 233), which have been preserved, confirm this statement. Among the Greeks, the Ionian city Phocæa is said to have been the first to have a coinage. The gold coins of Phocæa, which have been preserved, stamped on one side with the figure of the seal, of the value of fifty-one shillings (English), show by their weight that they were coined by the standard of the heavy Babylonish gold talent of 101½ pounds. The silver coinage was regulated by the standard in use in Syria, according to which gold had 13⅓ times the value of silver of the same weight. The silver pieces were so regulated that fifteen silver pieces were exchanged for one gold piece.[1] If it is true that King Agamemnon coined money for the Cymæans, this novelty must have been introduced about the time that Pheidon of Argos struck the first coins in the ancient home of the settlers on the coast of Asia, and established the system of weights and measures, which nearly the whole peninsula then adopted from Argos. The oldest coins we possess, belonging with certainty to Cyme, are, like the Lydian coins, of white gold, and stamped on one side only; the front showing a horse, the reverse, faucet-holes; then follow silver oboles, stamped on one side with the head of an eagle, which probably date from the first half of the sixth century.[2]

[1] Lenormant, *Monnayes Royales de la Lydie*, pp. 18, 19.
[2] Brandis, *Münzwesen*, pp. 320, 390, 391.

CHAPTER III.

ATTICA AT THE TIME OF THE MIGRATIONS.

The movement, to which the outbreak of the Thessalians from Epirus had given the first impetus, occasioned far greater losses to the Ionian group than to the ancient tribes in the basin of the Peneus, or in the west, south, and east of the Peloponnesus. In the north the Ionians lost the plains of Bœotia, which the Arnæans occupied; and in the south the whole northern coast of the Peloponnesus. If the new masters of Bœotia advanced upon Attica from the north, and the new masters of Argos and of the eastern part of the north coast of the Peloponnesus from the other side, the last possession of the Ionian race on the peninsula would be in question, and even this remnant of the Ionian dominion might be lost, and its inhabitants driven out and forced back upon Eubœa. But the Attic territory, through the unity and the organisation it had received from the Thesidæ, was stronger than the ancient communities in Bœotia or the Ionian communities on the north coast of the Peloponnesus. "Attica," Thucydides tells us, "was always occupied by the same inhabitants, and from all Hellas the leading men of those who were driven from their own countries by war or discord came to Attica as to a secure refuge. Here they became members of the commonwealth, and so increased in ancient times the number of the

inhabitants that Attica could not contain them, and sent out colonies to Ionia."[1] According to the Attic tradition, after the banishment of Theseus, a descendant of Erechtheus, Menestheus, bore rule in Attica. When he fell before Ilium, Demophon, son of Theseus, returned from Eubœa and ascended the throne. The sons of Eurystheus had received protection from Theseus or Demophon; Eurystheus fell in battle against the Athenians and the Heraclidæ (p. 200). When Agamemnon landed with the Argives at Phalerum on his return from Ilium (according to another version it was Diomede), Demophon took from him the image of Pallas, the defence of Ilium, which Diomede and Odysseus had brought from the city of Priam. But in the conflict many Argives were slain, and King Demophon was obliged to appear before the court on the Palladium, *i.e.* before the sanctuary of Pallas on the Ilissus (p. 114), to answer for the blood that was shed.[2] Subsequently Orestes, the matricide, when Demophon ruled in Attica, was released from the charge of the Eumenides and from his blood-guiltiness on the Areopagus, and might then, after he was cleansed from blood, ascend the throne of his fathers.[3] King Apheidas succeeded Demophon in the government; an oracle from Dodona commanded him to reverence the Areopagus and the altars of the Eumenides fragrant with incense, and not to slay those who sought refuge at those altars, but to spare them.[4] Oxyntas, son of Apheidas, who reigned after his father in Attica, was slain by his younger and illegitimate brother Thymætas,

[1] Thucyd. 1, 4.
[2] Clitodem. *Fragm.* 12 M; Demosthen. *in Aristocr.* p. 643; Pausan. 1, 28, 9; *Schol.* Aristid. *Panath.* p. 320 Dindorf; Pollux, 8, 118; Polyæn. 1, 5.
[3] Hellan. *Fragm.* 82 M; Marm. Par. *Ep.* 25.
[4] Pausan. 7, 25, 2.

who now ascended the throne.[1] Under his rule the descendants of Neleus and Nestor, who had been expelled from Pylus by the Dorians, came to Attica, viz. Melanthus, son of Andropompus, the great-grandson of Periclymenus, the brother of Nestor;[2] with him came the Pæonidæ, the posterity of the eldest son of Nestor, Antilochus (whose son was Pæon), then the descendants of the second son of Nestor, Thrasymedes, after whose grandson, Alcmæon, the Alcmæonidæ were named; lastly the descendants of the youngest son of Nestor, the Pisistratidæ.[3] They found refuge and protection in Attica.

Then it happened that the Bœotians, *i.e.* the new masters of the land of the Minyæ, and the Cadmeans, disputed with the Athenians for the territory of Melænæ and Oenoë, and Xanthus, King of the Bœotians, great-grandson of Opheltas who had led the Arnæans into Bœotia (*infra*, chap. vi.), challenged the King of the Athenians, Thymætas, to single combat. As Thymætas did not accept the challenge, being advanced in years, the Athenians took the command from him, and made Melanthus of Pylus, who offered himself for the combat, their king (according to another version Thymætas declared he would abdicate in favour of any man who should take upon himself to fight); and Melanthus did so, and slew Xanthus. With the deposition or abdication of Thymætas ended the rule of the descendants of Theseus over Athens;[4] but Melanthus

[1] Damon, *Fragm.* 1; Nicol. Damasc. *Fragm.* 50 M.

[2] The genealogy is as follows:—Periclymenus, Penthilus, Borus, Andropompus, and Melanthus.

[3] Hellan *Fragm.* 10 M; Strabo, p. 633; Pausan. 2, 18, 8.

[4] Strabo, p. 393; Polyæn. 1, 19; Conon. *Narrat.* 39. In Pausanias, 9, 5, 16, it is not Melanthus, but his father Andropompus, whom Xanthus kills. In the *Scholia* on Aristophanes (*Acharn.* 146; *Pax*, 890), instead of Κελαινῶν, Μελαινῶν is to be read.

instituted the festival of the Apaturia, and left the sovereignty of Attica to his son Codrus.[1]

When the Ionians of the coast, expelled from the Peloponnesus by the Achæans, had fled to Attica and had been received there, and Athens, as Strabo relates, had become strong through the increase of the population, the Heraclidæ and Dorians in the Peloponnesus began to be apprehensive of Athens and, above all, the Corinthians, owing to their close proximity. Driven out by the Corinthians, they marched upon Attica at the time that Codrus son of Melanthus was on the throne. Conquered in battle, they could not take possession of Attica, but they made Megara a Dorian community instead of an Ionian.[2] Herodotus observes: the Dorians first came to Attica when they marched against King Codrus, at the time that they colonised Megara.[3] Hellanicus, and Lycurgus the orator, enter more into details. The Peloponnesians, they say, resolved to march against Attica when King Codrus was reigning, to drive out the Athenians and to divide the Attic territory among themselves, and when they enquired at Delphi whether they should

[1] Ephor. *Fragm.* 25.

[2] Strabo, p. 393. The most ancient population of the isthmus (irrespective of Carians and Phœnicians) must, however, have been of Ionic race, since Ionians dwelt in the north and south of the isthmus, and the ancient Ionian city of Corinth was close by. This may still have been the case, even though it is quite certain that Megara did not belong to Attica. That statement is based upon the supposed partition of Attica among the four sons of Pandion (pp. 106, 109), but the true relation is still betrayed in the legend when it asserts that the leadership in war remained with Sciron. That the legend of the Megarians (Pausan. 1, 40, 41) does not speak of Ionians, but only of Megareus and Kar, the son of Phoroneus, proves nothing, as it originates with the later rulers of Megara. The citadel of the Pelopid Alcathous only serves to show that at the time when Achæan Argos was in power Achæan princes may have become rulers here, *supra*, p. 95.

[3] 5, 76.

conquer Athens, the god replied that they would take the city if they did not kill the king of the Athenians. This oracle Cleomantis, a man of Delphi, communicated secretly to the Athenians. The Athenians, few in number against many, were obliged to shut themselves up in their city. They stood the siege bravely. Then Codrus commanded them to take note of his death; he put on the clothes of a poor man in order to deceive the enemy,[1] and went out of the gate with a reaping-hook in his hand as if he were about to cut faggots. He met two men who came from the camp of the enemy to spy out how things were with the city. Codrus slew one of them with his hook, at which the other, being angry, drew his sword and killed Codrus. The Athenians demanded by a herald the body of their king for burial. Then the Peloponnesians became aware of what had happened, and retreated, in the conviction that it was no longer possible to conquer the country; but the Athenians, in gratitude to Cleomantis, decreed to him and his descendants maintenance for ever in the Prytaneum.[2] Another version of the legend is this: Some Dorians from Lacedæmon had stolen into the city during the night. In the morning the Athenians assembled themselves against them, and when the Dorians within the city perceived that their allies outside had retreated (having heard of the death of Codrus), they fled to the Areopagus and to the altars of the Eumenides, and the Athenians, mindful of the oracle of Dodona (*sup.* p. 241), allowed them to withdraw uninjured.[3] According to a third version, the Athenians go to battle after the death of

[1] In Lycurgus, the clothes of a beggar; in Pherecydes, of a rustic.
[2] Lycurg. *in Leocratem*, p. 158; Pherecyd. *Fragm.* 110 M; Hellanicus in *Schol. Platon. Sympos.* p. 376.
[3] Pausan. 7, 25, 2.

Codrus, full of courage and strength; the Peloponnesians learn what has happened, and are defeated.[1]

The foundation of the legends concerning the protection which the Heraclidæ found in Attica, the place of the battle against Eurystheus, and his grave, has been disclosed above (p. 206); the legend of the landing of Agamemnon establishes, and at the same time explains, the origin of the ancient image of Athena in the temple on the Palladium,[2] and why this temple became especially the place of judgment for blood involuntarily spilled. The legend of the judgment on Orestes consecrated the Areopagus as the place where the deliberate shedding of blood—murder—was tried. If it was enjoined upon the successor of Demophon, Apheidas, *i.e.* the relentless, to keep the Areopagus holy,—and the altar of the Eumenides thereon, and to spare those who took refuge there,—the origin and, moreover, the sacredness of these places are explained, and then illustrated by the sparing of the Dorians, who had fled to those altars. The name Oxyntas signifies the sharp; the name of Thymætas, who slays Oxyntas, perhaps the angry. The three generations, Demophon, Apheidas, the brothers Oxyntas and Thymætas, answer to the three generations in the race of Heracles—Hyllus, Cleodæus, and Aristomachus.

Evanescent as is the actual importance of these legends and names, various other traditions and circumstances of the historical period leave not the smallest doubt that Attica, from the beginning of the great movement which so entirely changed the condition of the Greek races in regard to their possessions, was the refuge for the expelled and dispossessed who found themselves assembled here from all sides.

[1] Polyæn. 1, 18; Velleius, 1, 2. [2] *C.I.A.* 1, No. 273 *Fragm.* f.

conquer Athens, the god replied that they would take the city if they did not kill the king of the Athenians. This oracle Cleomantis, a man of Delphi, communicated secretly to the Athenians. The Athenians, few in number against many, were obliged to shut themselves up in their city. They stood the siege bravely. Then Codrus commanded them to take note of his death; he put on the clothes of a poor man in order to deceive the enemy,[1] and went out of the gate with a reaping-hook in his hand as if he were about to cut faggots. He met two men who came from the camp of the enemy to spy out how things were with the city. Codrus slew one of them with his hook, at which the other, being angry, drew his sword and killed Codrus. The Athenians demanded by a herald the body of their king for burial. Then the Peloponnesians became aware of what had happened, and retreated, in the conviction that it was no longer possible to conquer the country; but the Athenians, in gratitude to Cleomantis, decreed to him and his descendants maintenance for ever in the Prytaneum.[2] Another version of the legend is this: Some Dorians from Lacedæmon had stolen into the city during the night. In the morning the Athenians assembled themselves against them, and when the Dorians within the city perceived that their allies outside had retreated (having heard of the death of Codrus), they fled to the Areopagus and to the altars of the Eumenides, and the Athenians, mindful of the oracle of Dodona (*sup.* p. 241), allowed them to withdraw uninjured.[3] According to a third version, the Athenians go to battle after the death of

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By the irruption of the Thessalians into the basin of the Peneus, as we have seen, many of the ancient inhabitants were driven out. Lapithæ from the lower Peneus, from Gyrton and Elatea, a portion of the population from the middle Peneus, from the region of Larisa and Crannon, to whom the name of "Pelasgians" clung, as the country retained that of Pelasgiotis; these all fled to Attica. When the Arnæans, who dwelt in the south-west of the Peneus basin, on the southern tributaries of the Peneus, yielding to the Thessalians, threw themselves upon the Minyæ of Orchomenus and the Cadmeans of Thebes, conquered them, and became masters of the Copaic basin, those who would not submit to the new rulers marched southwards over Mount Cithæron to Attica. Orchomenus was from of old allied with Athens through the common sacrifice at Calauria. To these exiles and fugitives from the north and centre of Greece were now added the fugitives of the south; those noble families from Pylus, who were subdued by the Dorians pressing down from Stenyclarus to the sea; the Ionians who fled from Trœzen, Epidaurus, Corinth, Phlius, and Sicyon to Attica (pp. 220, 221); lastly the Ionians, a considerable number of them at any rate, who were expelled by the Achæans immigrating from the shore of the Gulf of Corinth.

The Ionian race had lost the whole north coast of the Peloponnesus which it had occupied, from Dyme to Trœzen; and, without reckoning the islands in the western sea from which it was now cut off, it was confined to Attica and Eubœa. The defence of Attica, the refuge of the whole Ionian race, was directly at stake, against the attacks from the north and the south of the new rulers in Bœotia and in the

Peloponnesus. We have no reason to doubt that the Arnæans, after they had become masters of the Copaic basin, would have tried to extend their conquests farther. Ephorus tells us that the Bœotians and Athenians had fought for the region of Melænæ; others say that they fought for the region of Oenoë;[1] and both lie on the southern declivity of Mount Cithæron. Arrived at Mount Cithæron the Bœotians tried to get beyond it southwards into Attica. So much we may also concede to the tradition that it was services rendered in these battles against the Bœotians by one of the tribes that had fled from Pylus to Attica which brought this family calling Neleus its progenitor to the throne of Attica.[2] It is a fact that at the time of the migration a family from Pylus attained the sovereignty in Attica, and afterwards ruled there till the year 752 B.C.

If the ruling house to which Attica owed its unity had already set beside the ancient worship of Athena on the citadel the worship of Poseidon, the fugitives from Pylus had zealously worshipped Poseidon upon their coast, and the Ionians from the shore of the Corinthian gulf had brought common offerings to him at Helice. The worship of this god must therefore have increased with the arrival of the refugees in Attica; it might even seem doubtful whether the first place belonged to Poseidon or to Athena, and, accordingly, the legend was invented of the strife between Poseidon and Athena for Attica (p. 111). The fugitive Lapithæ and Cadmeans, the exiled Pylians, and the Ionians, who were forced into Attica, found not merely protection but admission to equal rights in the Attic commonwealth. This we read in Thucydides (*sup.* p. 240);

[1] Conon. *Narrat.* 39. [2] *Supra*, p. 132; and p. 242, note 4.

and Pausanias says: "The Ionians (*i.e.* the Ægialieis) were received by King Melanthus and the Athenians as fellow-citizens."[1] We find in historical times families of Lapithæ, Cadmeans, and Pylians in the Attic tribes; we find the Ionians who emigrated from Attica divided into societies which bore the names of the four Attic tribes. The legend is quite correct when it ascribes the founding of the festival of the Apaturia to Melanthus, *i.e.* to the period of the migration.[2] It was the festival of the societies of the different races, when offerings were brought to Zeus Phratrius, and to Athena; when the children born to the members, after their legitimacy had been proved, were adopted into the Phratries; when new members were assigned to the Phratries and their alliance confirmed. It was in the highest degree appropriate to ascribe to a king, who had himself as a fugitive attained the sovereignty, the reception of those who had shared his fate. The local, and hitherto territorial, society of the four corporations, which also claimed to be a relationship of blood, was altered by the admission of these foreign tribes. The possessions which the newly-received strangers acquired, could hardly have been always exactly in the territory of the tribe to which they were assigned. The Ionian emigrants from Attica afterwards celebrated the Apaturia in their settlements.[3]

The fugitives who came to Attica from the middle course of the Peneus, from Pelasgiotis, and the Minyæ from Orchomenus, who sought refuge here

[1] Pausan. 7, 1, 8.

[2] As the name, which is derived from *ἁμαπατρῷα* (*ὁμοπατρῷα*), was no longer understood, it was explained by *ἀπάτη*, and from this was invented the absurd story of the deception which Melanthus practised on Xanthus.

[3] Herod. 1, 147. "All are Ionians who come from Athens and celebrate the Apaturia."

before the Ægialicis, had found no admission into the Attic tribes. Yet the Pelasgiotes and Minyæ (sometimes one name and sometimes the other, and sometimes that of Tyrrhenians is applied to them[1]) testified their gratitude to the Athenians for the protection they found in Attica, by a splendid building. The rock of the Acropolis falls on all sides steeply down, and even without walls it was not very difficult to defend; only on its narrow western side the hill sloped more gradually. Those were hard times, in which Attica, more than all the other states, was obliged to pay attention to her defences. If the Dorians built fortresses against Argos and Corinth, the inhabitants of Attica had reason to be anxious for the strength of their own places of refuge. The refugees from the Peneus, who had dwelt at Larisa, and the Minyæ from Orchomenus had erected considerable buildings in the old homes; they now levelled, we are told, the top of the rock for the Athenians, and closed its western side by a very strong fortress, in the area of which was the spring from which the besieged in case of need could get water.[2] This fortress was distinguished by the name of the nine gates; or, from its supposed builders, the "Pelasgian wall," the Pelasgicum—the latter appellation still clung in later times to the huge blocks of its ruins. Whether the tradition is right in ascribing this fortification to the

[1] Thucyd. 4, 109. Sophocles in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 1, 25.

[2] Clitodem. *Fragm.* 22 M. When Herodotus (6, 137) gives us to understand, in the words *μισθὸν τοῦ τείχεος—κότε ἐληλαμένου*, that the walls were built in more ancient times, we may well ask who were these old Pelasgians, and how could a reward be given to the Minyæ and Pelasgiotes for building a wall of the ancient period? We know of no Pelasgians in Attica older than the people of Attica themselves. The question as to the situation and extent of the Pelasgicum is simplified by the dissertation of Wachsmuth (*Stadt Athen*, p. 290, *sqq.*).

immigrant Pelasgiotes, or whether such a notion did not arise simply from the name of the Pelasgian wall—*i.e.* of the fortress dating from ancient time, the most ancient fortress of the citadel against the Phœnicians of Melite (p. 68) is uncertain: it is however rather to be attributed to the Athenians themselves than to the immigrants.

In return for this building, so runs the tradition, a portion of unproductive land under Mount Hymettus was allotted to the Pelasgians and Minyæ, and when the Athenians saw it in excellent cultivation, so says Hecatæus, they were seized with envy and longing for it, and drove the possessors, without right or reason, out of Attica. The Athenians would not allow this story to stand. They maintained that the Pelasgians came hither from Mount Hymettus when their daughters and children went to draw water from the spring Callirrhoë (in the valley of the Ilissus), and had done violence to them; and it became evident in the sequel that they meditated an attack. So that the Athenians had behaved with great moderation in ordering them to leave Attica when they might have put them to death.[1] Philochorus relates that after the Tyrrhenians (so the Pelasgians and Minyæ are called from the fifth century onwards) had dwelt a short time in Athens, it became clear that they meditated a rebellion; the Athenians then slew many, and the rest fled to Lemnos and Imbros.

In a similar manner the tradition seeks to explain the old enmity between Athens and Lemnos. The Pelasgians and Minyæ, like many other fugitives after them, who had been driven to Attica, took ship, and colonised Lemnos and Imbros, which were inhabited

[1] Herod. 6, 137; Philoch. *Fragm.* 5 M.

by Thracians, but on which the Phœnicians also had stations;[1] another portion of the Minyæ found refuge with the Achæans on the lower Eurotas.[2] The Pelasgiotes, as we have already seen (*sup.* pp. 20, 21), had built some places on the peninsula of Athos, and also Placia and Scylace; two small towns on the Propontis. The two Larisas and Antandros, on the west coast of Asia Minor, are said to have been colonies of Pelasgiotes; who did not, however, come from Attica, but fled hither before the Thessalians straight from their ancient home. The founding of Antandros by Pelasgians is contradicted by a verse of Alcæus.[3]

The legend places the attack by the Dorians of the south upon Attica, in the time when Medon, son of Ceisus, grandson of Temenus, ruled at Argos; it also makes Althæmenes, the youngest son of Ceisus, take part in the expedition. In any case it is right in asserting that the attack upon Attica by the Dorians from the south occurred later than that of the Bœotians

[1] Thucyd. 2, 98; Strabo, p. 331.

[2] Thucyd. 4, 109. Herod. 6, 138; 5, 26. It is superfluous to examine the oft-repeated fable (ap. Herod. 4, 145 ff) that the Minyæ in Lemnos were descendants of the Argonauts, and had been driven out by the Pelasgians emigrating from Attica. As the voyage of the Argo was never made, it can have left no results in Lemnos. These Minyæ were represented as descending from the Argonauts only because the oracle given to Euphemus was thought to be fulfilled to Battus of Thera. The Minyæ driven out from Thessaly and Orchomenus were a noble race; part went out from Attica, or directly occupied Lemnos and Imbros; another part turned through Attica, or directly to the Peloponnesus, as the Dryopes turned to the south, and found a reception on the Eurotas; lastly, they settled in the country of Triphylia and Thera. The Minyæ of Lemnos and in Laconia were brought together, that the Minyæ driven out from Lemnos might come to Laconia, *infra*, ch. 8.

[3] Alcæus, ap. Strab. p. 606. Herod. 7, 42; 1, 57. Thucyd. 4, 109. The inference which Herodotus draws so diffidently—"If we may conclude anything from the language of the settlement of the Pelasgi who emigrated from Thessaly, and of those who have dwelt for a time in Attica, the Pelasgi must have spoken a barbarous tongue"—has been sufficiently discussed above, p. 22, *sqq*.

from the north; and also that the expedition was undertaken at the instigation of the Dorians from Corinth, if indeed it were not these very Dorians who alone undertook it. When Corinth belonged to the Dorians, it was obvious for them to take possession of the isthmus, if not to press forward and conquer for themselves the fruitful plain of Eleusis. The Dorians were defeated, as the legend says, in battle against the people of Attica, or through the sacrifice of Codrus and the fate which the oracle had linked with his death. But the region of Megara, which the legend makes the Dorians conquer upon this expedition, did in reality come under their dominion; the isthmus received Dorian masters, though these were only thinly scattered about upon its rocky hills.[1] When Pausanias says that every one out of the army of the Dorians, who wished to remain behind, received a dwelling-place here, history so far confirms this statement that we afterwards find Corinth in possession of the isthmus, and the kings of Corinth lords of the region of Megara.

The Athenians firmly believed in the self-sacrifice of Codrus. "For the sake of eternal glory," we read in Plato, "Codrus died before his day;"[2] and Aristotle remarks "that Codrus, by his death, preserved his country from being enslaved by war.[3] He was worshipped in Athens as a hero, for he overcame the enemy by his voluntary death."[4] On the right bank of the Ilissus the place was shown where Codrus found the death which he sought.[5] An inscription, dating from the Roman period, on a stone built into a wall by

[1] Velleius, 1, 2; Strabo, p. 393; Pausan. 1, 39, 4; *Schol.* Aristoph. *Ranæ.* 440; *supra*, p. 242, note 4. [2] *Sympos.* p. 208.
[3] Polyæn. 5, 10, 32. [4] Polyæn. 1, 18. [5] Pausan. 1, 19, 5.

the monument of Lysicrates, says: "This is the place of the fall of the Melanthid, King Codrus, the place which was the bulwark of the great Attic land; the Attic people buried his body under the Acropolis and exalted his glory to the immortals."[1] This inscription was manifestly intended to mark the place on the Ilissus where Codrus died; from it we may infer that the altar on which the sacrifices of heroes were offered to Codrus stood under the citadel.

We have already seen that Melanthus and his descendants, according to the reckoning of Hellanicus, sat on the throne of Attica not less than three hundred and ninety-seven years. According to this sum total of their reigns, and the year of the end of their hereditary rule, the year 752 B.C., Melanthus must have ascended the throne in 1149 B.C. The Parian Marble follows this list of Hellanicus; it makes Melanthus reign for thirty-seven years, *i.e.* till the year 1112 B.C., and Codrus for twenty-one years, and places the death of Codrus in 1090 B.C.[2] According to the result of the enquiry instituted above (p. 138), Melanthus can only have ascended the throne after the settlement of the Dorians at Stenyclarus, *i.e.* after the year 1000 B.C.

[1] *C. I. A.* 3, No. 943. That πέσημα here signifies the place of death, in opposition to the burial of the body which follows, seems to me evident. The sense of τειχίσατο, and the signification of 'Ασίδα, have been fully perceived, as I think, by Lugebil; Jahn's *Jahrb. Suppl.* 5, 542 ff.

[2] Marm. Par. *Ep.* 27; Euseb. *Chron.* 1, 186, Schöne.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MIGRATION OF THE IONIANS.

Even after the departure of the Minyæ and Pelasgiotes, the Attic territory was neither large nor productive enough to maintain the number of exiles who had assembled here from the north, and especially from the Peloponnesus. There followed successive emigrations, which at first passed to the islands of the Ægean Sea, and finally shaped their course to the shore of the opposite continent, already trodden by that portion of the Achæans who had turned from the south and north of the peninsula to the coast of Asia Minor. Hither came from Attica to these islands and coasts, dispossessed Cadmeans and Pylians, Ægialieis, *i.e.* Ionians from the Corinthian gulf, Ionians from Phlius, Trœzen, and Epidaurus (a part of these last came straight from their old homes), lastly inhabitants of Attica itself. These colonies, which were to bring to the Ionian race rich compensation for the regions lost on the north coast of the Peloponnesus, the Attic legend connects with a quarrel which had broken out in the new royal house of *Attica, in the house of Melanthus, among the sons* of Codrus.

"Not many years after the Ionians (the Ægialieis) had been received into Attica," says Pausanias, "the two eldest sons of Codrus, Medon and Neleus,

quarrelled about the throne. Neleus declared he would not submit to the sovereignty of Medon, because Medon was lame in one foot. They agreed to bring the matter before the Delphic oracle; the response of the Pythia gave Medon the crown. Then Neleus and the other sons of Codrus decided to emigrate. They led out the Athenians who were inclined to go; but the Ionians formed the greater portion of their army. Emigrants from Thebes marched with them under Philotas, the descendant of Peneleus, and Minyæ from Orchomenus, and Phocians and Abantes from Eubœa. The sons of Euctemon of Athens, Philogenes and Damon, gave ships to the Phocians and led them. When the emigrants reached the coast of Asia, some turned in one direction and some in another against the cities on the shore. But Neleus with his followers went against that part of Asia which the Carians inhabited, the city of Miletus. When the Ionians had become masters of the ancient Miletus they killed all the men who had not escaped, and took their wives and daughters in marriage. The grave of Neleus lies on the left of the road in going from Miletus to Didyma, not far from the gate. The coast by Ephesus was inhabited by Leleges, by a portion of the Carians, but for the most part by Lydians. Androclus, son of Codrus, King of the Ionians who landed here, drove out the Leleges and Lydians who occupied the upper town; but those who dwelt round the temple (of Artemis) had nothing to fear, for they had given and received solemn pledges. Androclus also took Samos and the island adjacent, but the old inhabitants after a certain time returned. Afterwards he marched to assist the city of Priene, which Ægyptus had founded with Philotas, against the Carians. The

Hellenes conquered, but Androclus was killed in the battle. The Ephesians buried him on the road from the Magnesian gate to the temple of Artemis, not far from the temple of Olympian Zeus; on the monument is seen an armed man. The Carians were driven out from Lebedos by Andræmon (in Strabo, Andropompus) and by the Ionians. Apœcus, great-grandson of Melanthus, led the Ionians to Teos; they dwelt here, together with Minyæ from Orchomenus; Cnopus, son of Codrus, founded Erythræ. The Clazomenians are for the most part not Ionians, but Cleonæans and Phliasians, who had abandoned their cities before the Dorians (p. 22). The inhabitants of the city of *Phocæa sprang from Phocis.*[1]

Strabo says, "The migration of the Ionians took place, it is stated, four generations after the emigration of the Æolians (Achæans) to Asia."[2] As Pherecydes relates, "Carians inhabited the region of Miletus and Myus, Mycale and Ephesus, the land on the sea upwards as far as Phocæa, and the islands of Chios and Samos belonged to the Leleges." "The Ionian emigrants were led by Androclus, the legitimate son of Codrus, King of Athens; he founded Ephesus. But Miletus was built by Neleus, who came from Pylus, and many Pylians had marched out with the Ionians. At Poseidium (a promontory southward from *Miletus) an altar was shown which Neleus had erected* to Poseidon. Ægyptus, son of Neleus, built Priene; some call this city Cadme, as Philotas, who had assisted in founding it, was a Bœotian, *i.e.* a Cadmean.[3] Myus was built by Cydrelus, the illegitimate son of Codrus; Lebedos by Andropompus, Colophon by the Pylian Andræmon, Teos and Erythræ by Nauclus and

[1] Pausan. 7, 2; 1, 3, *sqq.* [2] P. 582. [3] Strabo, p. 636.

Cnopus, illegitimate sons of Codrus.[1] Phocæa was founded by Athenians led by Philogenes; Paralus built Clazomenæ. Chios was colonised by Egertius, who brought there a mixed multitude; Samos by Tembrion, and after him by Procles."

The statement of the Parian Marble, that Neleus founded the Ionian cities in Asia, is repeated by Ælian in the following form: "Neleus the son of Codrus left Athens, when the Pythia promised the kingdom to Medon. A storm drove him to Naxos, and as unfavourable winds hindered his departure from the island, the seers declared that the camp required purification, since many with unclean hands were companions in the voyage. Then Neleus gave out that he also required purification for the killing of a child, went out of the camp, and thus induced the rest who were conscious of such deeds to do the same. When this was accomplished, he left these persons behind in Naxos; they colonised the island, but he himself first built Miletus after he had driven out the Carians, Leleges, and other barbarians; and when he had founded the twelve cities he afterwards built many others on the mainland."[2]

Herodotus enumerates the twelve Ionian settlements in Asia, which he calls the twelve Ionian cities of Athens;[3] and to explain the fact that they adopted no town beyond this number into their commonwealth he conjectures that in the former settlement, on the shore of the Corinthian gulf, they had twelve communities; he assures us that they are not better Ionians than others, nor probably of nobler descent, for a consider-

[1] According to Hellanicus in Harpocration (Ἐρυθραῖοι), Neleus himself built Erythræ.

[2] Æl. *Var. Hist.* 8, 5.

[3] Herod. 7, 95.

able part of them are Abantes from Eubœa; moreover, Minyæ from Orchomenus were mingled with them, and Cadmeans, Dryopians, and Phocians, who were separated from their countrymen, Molossians, Arcadians, and many other tribes.[1] "Those of them who had gone out from the Prytaneum of Athens, and regarded themselves as the noblest of the Ionians, took no Ionian women with them, but married Carian women, whose parents they had slain; and some made Pylians their kings, descendants of Melanthus and Codrus; others Lycians, from Glaucus and Hippolochus; others drew from both. As they clung more to the name of Ionians than the rest of the tribe, who, like the Athenians, avoided and were ashamed of it, they might pass for Ionians of purer descent. In fact, all are Ionians who spring from Athens and celebrate the Apaturia."[2]

"Not very long (after the Thessalians, the Arnæans, and Dorians had acquired their new dwellings) had Hellas been in peace and free from commotion," so Thucydides tells us, "when it sent out colonies, and the Athenians occupied Ionia and most of the islands."[3] It was one of the boasts of Athens that it had founded most of the cities in ancient times, and had again rescued them subsequently from the worst calamity.[4]

The ancient population of the islands of the Ægean Sea we already know. From the southern part of the west coast of Asia Minor the Carians had colonised the Cyclades. The Phœnicians afterwards, in their commerce with the islands of the sea, had founded settlements in Crete, colonies in the Cyclades, espe-

[1] The "Dorian" Epidaurians I leave out of the question, as a manifest error of Herodotus.
[2] Herod. I, 146, 147.
[3] Thucyd. I, 12.
[4] Isocr. *Panegyr.* 99.

cially at Thera, Melos, and Oliarus, at Samothrace and Thasos.[1] Lastly, they had founded all the stations opposite and upon the coast of the Greek peninsula. Having been obliged to vacate these stations in face of the increasing power of the Greek tribes, about the year 1100 B.C., the settlements on the Cyclades were now also taken from them by the stream of Greek emigration, as the Carian population of the Cyclades had been formerly dispossessed of those islands.[2] Ælian has told us that Neleus with his fleet first occupied Naxos, the greatest and most fruitful of the Cyclades, and there left behind him those who were polluted. Herodotus confirms this statement, for he says of the Naxians, "They are Ionians who spring from Athens."[3] But the emigrants did not conquer Naxos only. "Long after the time of Minos," we read in Herodotus, "the Ionians and Dorians drove out the nation of the Carians, once so famous, from the islands." The population which we subsequently find in the Cyclades is of Ionian race.[4]

The conquest and settlement of the Cyclades could only have been accomplished by slow degrees; generations passed before they were completed. So also the settlements which spread over the Cyclades, and the colonies on the Anatolian coast, cannot have been the result of one expedition or one undertaking. The tradition which, in the form that we possess it, already existed about the year 500 B.C. has compressed together a long chain of events, and condensed many expeditions

[1] Thucyd. 1, 8.
[2] Diodor. 5, 84. Graves of the Carians still existed at Delos in the second half of the sixth century.
[3] 8, 46.
[4] On the colonisation of Melos and Thera, *vide infra*, ch. 8 and 11; on that of the Cyclades, Book 3, ch. 9.

and battles into a single expedition sent from Attica. The principal motive for this condensation, over and above imperfect recollection, will appear further on. Even Herodotus distinguishes among the Ionians on the coast and the coast islands those who went out from the Prytaneum of Athens from the rest, and particular features of other traditions allow us to perceive somewhat more clearly the various points of departure, the gradual progress of the settlements, the duration of the conflicts which were carried on, and the actual course of events.

The catalogue in the *Iliad* of the Achæans and the auxiliaries of the Trojans, the compilation of which took place after the middle of the seventh century B.C., assigns to the Carians the city of Miletus, the thickly-wooded mountains of the Phtheireans (Hecatæus found that Latmos is here meant), the currents of the Mæander, and the steep summit of Mycale.[1] If a city of Miletus existed before the arrival of the settlers, the Carians were driven out of it. The conquest or founding of Miletus and Ephesus proceeded from Attica. The Milesians regarded themselves as colonists of Athens, and caused this to be the generally acknowledged origin; and the Athenians, on their side, lamented the evil fortune of Miletus as their own.[2] One of the companions of Neleus, Philistus son of Pasicles, is said to have erected a shrine to Demeter of Eleusis[2] at the foot of the mountain of Mycale, on the northern shore of the bay, opposite Miletus. The Thesmophoria were also celebrated in Miletus, notwithstanding the Carian wives whom Herodotus and Pausanias assign to the founders of that city. We

[1] *Il.* 2, 868, 869; Strabo, p. 635; *infra*, ch. 12.
[2] Herod. 1, 146; 5, 97; 6, 21. [3] Herod. 9, 97.

further find a sanctuary of Athena and an olive-tree sacred to this goddess in Miletus; and, as in Attica, the settlers are divided into four tribes and celebrate the Apaturia to Zeus Phratrius and to Athena. On the other hand, there are certain indications to prove that in this colony we have Ionic, and not merely Attic, elements. It was the immigrant Ionians in Attica who especially worshipped Poseidon; the promontory south from Miletus, on the Gulf of Jassus, received its name from this god, and Neleus, as Strabo informs us, here erected a temple to him.

The situation of the new colony was favourable. Southward from Samos and the promontory of Mycale an arm of the Ægean Sea, the Gulf of Latmus, penetrates far into the country of the Carians. The Mæander falls into this gulf. Just in front of the west point of the southern shore of this gulf lie two small islands, Lade and Asteria, on which the settlers may first have established themselves before they founded Miletus on the point, opposite the mouth of the Scamander. They soon also conquered from the Carians the peninsula extending to the south of their city. Already the son and successor of Neleus had taken possession of and retained Jassus, which was built to the south of this by emigrants from Argos, when they had suffered a severe defeat from the Carians. Of the later descendants of Neleus we learn only that a portion of the Milesians, dissatisfied with their rule, wandered forth under the leadership of Cydrelus,[1] marched up the course of the Mæander, and upon it, some miles above the mouth, founded the city of Myus. Then there was war and enmity between Miletus and Myus, but not without intermission. The women of Myus were per-

[1] Strabo, p. 633; Cyaretus ap. Pausan. 7, 2, 10.

mitted to share in the celebration of certain festivals at Miletus. When King Phobius, the Nelid, on account of a murder committed by his wife, had resigned the government of Miletus and given it over to Phrygius, there came from Myus, with her mother and other women, Pieria,—daughter of Pythes, a man of repute there,—to the feast of Artemis at Miletus. King Phrygius fell in love with her, and considered what he might do that she would most desire; and she named as her greatest wish that she might come often, and with many others, to Miletus. Phrygius understood that she asked for peace and friendship, and he put an end to the war. "Therefore," says Plutarch, "Pieria, who brought peace instead of war, is held in honour in Myus and Miletus, and to this day the women of Miletus pray to be loved by their husbands as Phrygius loved Pieria."[1]

The rise of Ephesus is related by the annalist of this city Creophylus. The founders landed on the island of Samos, and after they had endured much discomfort there for twenty-one years, they enquired of an oracle where they should build the town. The answer was, at the place which the fish should point out, and whither the boar should lead, at the spot where now is the spring of Hypelæus (at Ephesus) and the sacred harbour. There, we are told, some fishermen were cooking fish for their breakfast; one of the fish sprang out of the kettle, and fell with a piece of charcoal into the straw; in this way the thicket was set on fire in which a boar was concealed; flying before

[1] Plut. *Mul. Virt.* 16; Polyæn. 8, 35. As Myus belongs to the twelve cities, and Cydrelus is made on that account an illegitimate son of Codrus, the founding of Myus, Phobius and Phrygius, had to be placed before 800 B.C.

the fire he ran high up a steep hill, until he fell there by a spear that was cast at him. Then Androclus left the island of Samos, and in the two-and-twentieth year settled on this spot on the heights of Coressus and Trachea. On the hill of Trachea he built a temple to Athena, another to Artemis in the market, and a third at the harbour, to the Pythian Apollo.[1]

The place which Androclus had conquered on the mainland lay at the mouth of the Cayster, on the borders of Caria and Lydia. Pausanias has already told us that the colonists had to contend with the Carians and Lydians. They settled themselves at first on a height, Coressus, which descends to the north in a steep defile by the spring Hypelæus. Afterwards the colony spread over the mountain of Prium to the plain of the Cayster.[2] We further learn concerning Androclus that he marched against Samos. As Pausanias has told us, he had previously taken Samos, but the old inhabitants had returned. According to the statements of Strabo and Plutarch, Tembrion, and after him Procles (p. 257), had occupied Samos with Ionians from Epidaurus, and Procles had left the government of the island to his son Leagoras. Androclus defeated Leagoras, one part of the colonists fled to Samothrace, another with Leagoras crossed over to the mainland, and here established themselves at Anæa, on the northern declivity of Mycale; they lived by plunder, and after ten years came back and reconquered Samos, and Leagoras after his death left the government of the island to his descendants.[3] Androclus fell in battle with the Carians. He had marched to the help of Æpytus, son of Codrus, who,

[1] Creophylus in Athenæus, p. 361. [2] Strabo, p. 633, 634.
[3] Plut. *Quæst. Græc.* 55; Pausan. 7, 4, 2, 3; Strabo, pp. 457, 633.

with Ionians said to have sprung from Helice,[1] and Cadmeans led by Philotas, had founded the city of Priene on the northern coast of the Latmian Gulf, on the southern slope of Mycale, near the torrent Gæson, opposite Miletus, and was beset by the Carians. Androclus won the victory, but was killed in the battle with many Ephesians. Against the sons of Androclus, we are told by Ephorus, the Ephesians rebelled, and as they required allies they invited the settlers of Teos and Carene (near Atarneus[2]) into their city. So it came to pass that Ephesus had five tribes, that of the Ephesians, which included the first founders, and therefore the Ionians; that of the Euonymi, to whom the emigrant Athenians from the deme Euonymus in Athens belonged, then the two tribes of Teians and Carenæans, lastly the tribe of the Bennians. These five tribes each possessed in Ephesus a special council-chamber.[3] Pausanias, as we have seen, states that *Androclus did not attack that portion of the* Leleges and Lydians who dwelt about the temple of the goddess, in whom the Greeks recognised Artemis, in the plain of the Cayster; with them he exchanged solemn pledges: *i.e.* the Ionians spared the holy places of the ancient population, while the priests and servants of these temples submitted themselves upon terms. They were received with equal rights into the commonwealth of the conquerors, if we may venture to see in the fifth tribe, that of the Bennians, the officers and dwellers about the temple precincts. The *posterity of Androclus, in spite of the rebellion, retained* the kingly office at Ephesus for two hundred years; also when the monarchy in Ephesus, as in all other cities, had long fallen, the descendants of Androclus retained

[1] Strabo, p. 384. [2] Herod. 7, 42. [3] Steph. Byz. Bέννα.

the name and insignia of princes, the presidency at public games, and the conduct of the worship of Demeter of Eleusis. The first temple of the new city was erected to Athena, and the women of Ephesus celebrated the Thesmophoria to Demeter as at Athens.[1] The Apaturia were not celebrated at Ephesus, probably on account of the different arrangement of the tribes.[2]

Still more scanty than the tradition of the colonies which sprang up at the mouth of the Mæander and Cayster, and those of Miletus, Myus, Priene, and Ephesus, is the tradition of the conquest of the two large islands off the coast, Samos and Chios, and of the planting of the group of Ionian towns which arose on the coast opposite Chios. The colonisation of Samos by Ionians from Epidaurus under Procles, the holding of the island by his son Leagoras, we have already discussed. Of Chios, which Strabo represents as occupied by the mixed hordes of Egertius, we learn from Ion of Chios that Ionians (Abantes), from the north coast of Eubœa, under the leadership of Amphiclus, settled there.[3] Only in the fourth generation after Amphiclus did Hector the chief of the emigrants succeed in completely subjugating the Carians of Chios; part of them were slain in battle, and the other part were compelled to evacuate the island upon terms.

Ionians from Eubœa had also taken part in the founding of Erythræ, opposite Chios, on the coast of the mainland. There was an older town, in the place of which Erythræ stood: the Phœnicians had a station here: this is proved by the worship of the Tyrian

[1] Herod. 6, 16; Strabo, p. 633. [2] Herod. 1, 147.
[3] Pausan. 7, 4, 9.

Heracles, *i.e.* of Melkarth, whom the colonists continued to worship together with Athena Polias.[1] The founder of Erythræ was Cnopus: after him it was also called the city of Cnopus.[2] Polyænus relates at length how Cnopus of the house of Codrus, by the crafty device of his priestess Chrysame, brought the camp of the ancient inhabitants into confusion and hewed down his enemies to the last man.[3] Hippias of Erythræ tells us of the violent death which overtook Cnopus. His friends and flatterers, Ortyges, Irus, and Echarus, were meditating his destruction in order to substitute an oligarchy for the monarchy. Being on board ship with him when he was going to Delphi to enquire of the god, they bound him upon the open sea, threw him into the water, landed then in Chios, received troops from the kings Amphiclus and Polytecnus, and departed by night with these to Erythræ. The sea had thrown the body of Cnopus upon the shore; his wife Cleonice was busy with the burial, the festival of Artemis Strophæa was being celebrated, when suddenly the trumpet sounded. The city was taken by Ortyges, the adherents of Cnopus were cut down, and his widow fled to Colophon. Now Ortyges and his friends bore rule and cleared the way of all who opposed them. In tunics which were adorned with purple stripes and in mantles of purple they administered justice before the gates. They wore gold ornaments, like women, and sandals with many soles, and in winter women's shoes; let their hair grow, arranged it in curls, and put yellow and purple fillets on their heads. Their fellow-citizens had to bring them seats, attend upon them, and sweep the

[1] Pausan. 7, 5; 5, 6.
[2] Steph. Byz. *s.v. vide supra*, p. 257, 1.
[3] 8, 43.

roads before them. To their common meals some had to send their sons, and some their wives and daughters. He who did not obey underwent the severest punishments. If one of the brotherhood died, the citizens were obliged to appear with wives and children to raise lamentations and to beat their breasts. All this went on until Hippotes, the brother of Cnopus, came with an army, and with the help of the Erythræans took the city during a festival. The greater part of the brotherhood he caused to be barbarously put to death, with their wives and children; Ortyges, with his nearest adherents, he cut down as they fled.[1] Hippotes left the dominion to his descendants.[2] The inhabitants of Erythræ were divided into three tribes, of which one bore the name of Chalcidians. The name proves the derivation of this part of the population from Eubœa.[3]

Of the two cities on the neck of the peninsula on which Erythræ lay, Clazomenæ in the north, according to the statements of Pausanias and Strabo, was founded by Ionians from Phlius, and by Cleonæans under the leadership of Paralus; and Teos in the south by Ionians and Minyæ of Orchomenus, in two detachments. The first expedition to Teos was led by Apœcus, great-grandson of Melanthus of Athens; the second by Nauclus and Damasus, sons of Codrus; the Bœotians were led by Gerrhes.[4] This name seems to be borrowed from the name of the harbour of Teos, Gerrhædæ. In Teos itself we find the tribe of the Geleontes as in Athens,[5] and may therefore suppose

[1] Athenæus, pp. 258, 259.

[2] This follows from the circumstance that Phocæa sent for Codrids from Erythræ.

[3] Pausan. 7, 5, 12.

[4] Pausan. 7, 3, 6.

[5] *C.I.G.* No. 3078.

that the three other Attic tribes were also present in Teos.[1] That the tribes in Teos had subdivisions, to each of which was assigned a tower for them to defend on the city wall, is shown by inscriptions at Teos. Farther north, on the coast on the other side of the mouth of the river Hermus, a few miles from Cyme, was Phocæa, as tradition says, and as is proved by the name of the town, built by Phocæans under the command of Damon and Philogenes the Athenians. Pausanias observes that the Phocæans had won their territory, not by arms, but by agreement with the Cymæans.[2]

In the midst, between the southern and northern group of Ionian cities, between Miletus, Myus, Priene, and Ephesus in the south, and Teos, Erythræ, Clazomenæ, and Phocæa in the north, lay Colophon, founded by Andræmon of Pylus, on the coast, not far from the mouth of the Ales. Herodotus remarks that the inhabitants of Colophon did not celebrate the Apaturia, the Attic family festival; Mimnermus of Colophon thus sums up in his poems the origin of his city, which he represents as having been built directly from Pylus. "Leaving the towering citadel of Nelean Pylus, we reached the longed-for Asia on our ships. Here we immediately settled, as we had the stronger force, in Colophon, beginners of hateful violence. From here, from the river Ales we broke forth, and according to the counsel of the gods, took Smyrna, the city of the Æolians."[3] It has been already observed (*supra*, p. 232) that the Cymæans crossed Mount Sipylus towards the south and founded Smyrna; after the found-

[1] *C.I.G.* No. 3064-66, 3082. Here, in Teos also, one of the towers was called Χαλκιδεῖς πύργος, *loc. cit.* No. 3103.

[2] Pausan. 7, 3, 10.

[3] Strabo, p. 634.

ing of Phocæa, Smyrna, in the hands of the Cymæans, broke the series of Ionian cities.

The marble chronicle of Paros places the migration of the Ionians from Attica in the thirteenth year of the reign of King Medon (p. 257). This chronicle assigns the fall of Ilium, as we have seen, to the year 1209 B.C. *One hundred and thirty-two years after the* fall of Ilium, seventy-two years after the beginning of the reign of Melanthus, in the year 1077 B.C., the Ionians who had fled to Attica migrated from thence to the coast of Asia. Eratosthenes and Apollodorus reckoned differently. According to them, the fall of Ilium took place in the year 1183 B.C.; eighty years afterwards followed the irruption of the Dorians into the Peloponnesus in the year 1103 B.C. Fifty years after the irruption of the Dorians, *i.e.* in 1053 B.C., the Achæans passed over into Asia, and sixty years after the same Dorian irruption, *i.e.* in 1043 B.C., the Ionians migrated thither.[1] We can only maintain, after our previous discussion, that the migration of the Ionians took place later than that of the Achæans and soon after the middle of the tenth century.

Of the arrangement of the new Ionian commonwealths on the soil of Asia, we can only discover a few traits with approximate certainty. The statements of Herodotus (quoted above) concerning the mixed *character of the Ionians, the origin of their princes*, and the Carian wives of the colonists, are, we know not for what reason, altogether exaggerated. The greater

[1] Castor ap. Euseb. *Chron.* 1, 179, Schone. Eusebius and Jerome place the interval of ten years between the Achæan and Ionian migration. They place the founding of Cyme and Smyrna, 968 and 970 Abrah., and the emigration of the Ionians, 978 and 980 Abrah.; *i.e.* 1045 and 1035 B.C.; Euseb. *Chron.* 2, 60, 261, Schöne. Strabo's four generations after the wandering of the Æolians (*supra*, p. 256) I cannot explain.

part of the strangers were Ionians from the Corinthian gulf, from Epidaurus, Attica, and Eubœa. We find in Miletus and in Teos, and in the colonies of Miletus, the names of the four Attic tribes, and can therefore be sure that in these cities, at any rate, the Ionic element must have decidedly preponderated. The princely races of the cities sprang from Pylus, like the royal house of Athens. Herodotus speaks also of Lycian princes among the Ionians, but there is not to be found elsewhere the smallest indication of this. The only thing that could be quoted in support of the statement is, that the Homeric poems makes Glaucus the Lycian and Diomede part in peace, when Glaucus has proved his Greek descent. On the other hand we learn that participation in the common sacrifice of the Ionians was made to depend upon the dominion of a princely house of Nelid origin. And in respect to the Carian wives of the Ionians, these cannot have been numerous, at any rate in Miletus and Ephesus (and Miletus stood on Carian ground); the women of these cities celebrated the Thesmophoria to Demeter, like the women of Attica. We may be sure that the leaders of the emigrants, descended mostly from old families at home, remained at the head of the new colonies; that the hereditary monarchy of the ancient commonwealths was transferred to the new settlements, and struck roots there no less deep than those which sustained it on the other side of the Ægean Sea. Further, we cannot doubt that the colonists, who had conquered lands and sites for the founding of the new cities, partitioned the conquered territory among themselves. Their division into corporations, tribes, and races, after the pattern of their old home, and partly also after the names of the tribes of Attica, is abundantly proved.

The members of these corporations, the occupants of the lands, were the full citizens, the nobility, of the new commonwealths. Later immigrants had as little share in the government as the remains of the old population, who were made slaves or degraded into serfs, unless, as at Ephesus, a fraction of them were received with equal rights into the new state. To the tribes and races of the conquerors belonged the men who stood beside the king for counsel and judgment; as to their individual interests and affairs, the corporations of the tribes managed them independently. It may well have been that this nobility of the new cities, in the full consciousness of its share in their origin and growth, maintained towards their princes a more self-conscious and defiant attitude than the noble families had previously done at home. But the monarchy in these colonies did not fall sooner than in the mother country. What Hippias of Erythræ tells us (as we have seen) of the events in his city, in a form taken from the later political struggles, is the conflict of a pretender, supported by Chios and a fraction of the nobles adhering to him, against the occupant of the throne; not a struggle between aristocracy and monarchy; and what he relates of the splendour of the men who attained to power may have its foundation in the wonderful abundance of possessions with which the conquest of an ancient Phœnician settlement may have loaded the conquerors.

The struggle of the colonists against the Carians and Lydians was certainly not a light one. The Carians were a nation of warriors, obstinate in fight, and not likely to surrender their land without a struggle. This is indicated plainly enough by the tradition: Androclus in Samos cannot succeed against the Carians in a twenty years' contest; he finally conquers Ephesus

by entering into a treaty with a part of the ancient population; he falls in battle against the Carians at Priene; at Chios the struggle goes on for three generations, without being decided; only in the fourth generation was the victory gained by the Ionians. Soon there came feuds among the new cities. Androclus is said to have made war on Leagoras of Samos; Myus, soon after it was founded, fought against Miletus; Erythræ against Chios, with the help of Miletus,—help rendered, no doubt, in consequence of the assistance which princes of Chios had once given to Ortyges (*supra*, p. 266).[1]

If the Ionian cities were not only settled and maintained against the Carians, who had no common leader, and against the Lydians, who were then subject to the royal house of the Sandonidæ, but were also able subsequently to enlarge their territories, this was scarcely owing wholly to the perseverance and aptitude for war of the Ionians; they were helped by the circumstance that, in spite of feuds, there was a certain common feeling among them. The settlers of Priene—they are said to have come from Helice on the Corinthian gulf—when they had extended their dominion from the southern declivity of Mycale over the steep crest of this mountain range northwards to the shore, consecrated on this coast "a solitary place" to Poseidon of Helice; and their kings, Æpytus and his descendants, here offered bulls to Poseidon, as he had received them in the old home. If the bulls bellowed when they were brought by the youths to the altar, the offering was regarded as acceptable, but if they remained quiet it was supposed that the god was displeased.[2] In this sacrifice by the inhabitants of

[1] Herod. 1, 18.
[2] *Il.* 20, 403, 404, and *Schol. Venet.*; Strabo, p. 384.

Priene to the god who was so zealously worshipped by the Ionian dwellers on the coast in the northern country, the cities nearest to Miletus, Myus, and Ephesus were the first to associate themselves. With the participation of several cities games came into use at this sacrifice. King Hector of Chios is said to have assisted at the sacrifice of Mycale, when he had succeeded in driving out the Carians from the island; he himself carried away a tripod as the prize of victory at the games on that occasion.[1] As Hector is called the fourth in descent from Amphiclus, who led the Ionians to Chios, this event may probably have happened a century after the arrival of the Ionians, about the year 850 B.C. After Chios and Samos, the cities of the northern group may have joined. When the most northerly of these, Phocæa, sought admission to the sacrifice, the request was refused, because Phocæa was not governed by kings of the house of Codrus; two Athenians, Damon and Philogenes, had led the emigrants and founded Phocæa (p. 268). "On this refusal the Phocæans," we are told by Pausanias, "fetched Codrids from Erythræ and Teos; Decœtes, Periclus, and Abarnus."[2] Phocæa was now admitted, and the monarchy thus imported lasted longer in Phocæa than in all the other Ionian cities. We may venture to conclude from this tradition that Miletus and Ephesus, the most important cities of the Ionians, whose kings boasted of their descent from Codrus, gave the casting votes in the common sacrifice; and that the other cities, in order to render themselves of

[1] Pausan. 7, 4, 10.

[2] In Pausanias (7, 3, 10) we find Abartus. From the analogy of Abarnis in the territory of Phocæa (Steph. B. Ἄβαρνος), Abarnos ought no doubt to be read.

equal rank, made their founders—Æpytus at Priene, Cydrelus at Myus, Cnopus at Erythræ, Apœcus (this is evidently a fictitious name, meaning the settler) and Nauclus at Teos, Andræmon at Colophon—sons of Codrus, if only illegitimate sons; and this led to the further supposition that all the colonies of Ionia came from Attica, and that Neleus was the head of the great expedition and the founder of all the Ionian cities of Asia.

The admission of Phocæa to the common sacrifice must be placed in the second half of the ninth century. If the Homeric poems which mention the offering to Poseidon of Helice assign twelve sons to Neleus of Pylus, the father of Nestor,[1] it follows from this that the sacrificial community of the Ionians already, when these poems were sung, consisted of twelve cities. In any case monarchy must have been in full force among the Ionians, if the kingly rule of a particular race could not only be made the condition of membership in the sacrifice, but that condition was complied with. About the middle of the eighth century the position of the monarchy was already shaken; it had either fallen, or was about to fall.

Farther inland than the Ionian cities, where the Lethæus falls into the Mæander, on the declivity of Mount Thorax, lay a Greek city, Magnesia. Advanced as an outpost into the country, the name of this city shows, and tradition confirms it,[2] that emigrants from Pelion, Magnetes from the coast of Thessaly, conquered from the midst of the Carians a new place of abode. An inscription, of the first half of the second century of our reckoning, which contains a resolution of the convention of the Pan-Hellenists, asserts that the forefathers of the inhabitants of Magnesia on the

[1] Il. 11, 692.

[2] Strabo, pp. 636, 647.

Mæander had been Magnetes from Thessaly, and first of all the Hellenes had passed over to Asia.[1] Although the emigration of the ancient population of Thessaly must have commenced before the emigration of the Ionians, it is scarcely to be supposed that a colony could succeed in the country before the coast was in the hands of the Greeks. With this a story agrees, which represents the newly-settled Ionians as going to the help of these strangers against hostile attacks.[2] Having gained possession of the plain of the Mæander, the Magnetes early applied themselves to the breeding of horses and equestrian warfare.[3] Magnesia, as a colony of another race, was excluded from the common sacrifice at Mycale.

Another city, won by the Ionians at a later time, was not admitted to this sacrifice. Mimnermus has already told us that the people of Colophon, the colony from Cyme, had taken the city of Smyrna from the Æolians in open war. Herodotus says: "In Colophon there was discord, the party that was worsted was driven out of the city and admitted into Smyrna. When the people of Smyrna were celebrating a feast to Dionysus, before the gates, the Colophonians in Smyrna, perceiving this, shut the gates and took possession of the town. The whole of the Achæans then came to the help of the people of Smyrna, and a treaty was made by which the Achæans, in consideration of the delivering up of all movable goods, left Smyrna to the Ionians, and divided their countrymen of Smyrna among the Achæan cities." According to Strabo's account, Smyrna was originally founded by the Ephesians, after the expulsion of the Carian

[1] *C.I.G.* No. 2910. [2] Conon, *Narrat.* 29.
[3] Aristot. *Pol.* 4, 3, 2; Heracl. Pont. *Fragm.* 22 M.

Leleges, but they again were dispossessed by the Achæans. The expelled Ephesians fled to Colophon, and, with the help of the Colophonians, reconquered their city.[1] We have only to hold simply by the verse of the old poem about the founding of Smyrna (p. 231), to the statement of Mimnermus that the Colophonians took Smyrna from the Achæans, and that Smyrna after this conquest became an Ionian city. A hymn, in the Homeric tone, points further to a closer connection between Colophon and Smyrna.[2] The passing of Smyrna into the hands of the Ionians must have taken place a considerable time before the year 700 B.C. Smyrna was an independent Ionian city, and was so described by Pausanias, when Onomastus of Smyrna, in the year 684 B.C., won the victory in the boxing match at Olympia—the first recorded victory of an Ionian at Olympia.[3] About the same time, or rather earlier, we find Smyrna independent, and successful in battle against Gyges, King of Lydia. Smyrna's attempts to be included in the common sacrifice at Mycale were rejected, perhaps, as Herodotus conjectures, for the reason that the number of members might not exceed twelve.[4]

The conducting of the sacrifice and of the competitive games at Mycale remained with the posterity of Æpytus of Priene. Even when the monarchy in Priene, as in all the other Ionian cities, had fallen, it was the rule that a citizen of Priene should offer the

[1] *Herod. 1, 150; Strabo, p. 634.*

[2] Hymn 8 *in Dian.* This observation of Bergk (*Griech. Literaturgisch*, 1, 754) seems to me much to the point.

[3] Pausan. 5, 8, 7; Philostr. *de Gymn.* p. 20.

[4] *Supra*, p. 274; Herod. 1, 143. He says expressly that Smyrna is not counted among the twelve cities of the Panionion. In no author do we find mention of Smyrna among them. The more general remark of Pausanias (5, 8, 7) proves nothing as against this.

sacrifice; he received for this purpose the title of king, as representative of the ancient princes. When the place of sacrifice in the fourth century B.C. was removed from Mycale, the Delphic oracle commanded the Ionians to take the pattern of the mother altar at Helice (in Achæa). They obeyed, and their ambassadors sacrificed there in the year 373 B.C. in the ancient temple.[1]

It was a violent step, necessitated by severe disturbances and by the successes of the Thessalians and Dorians, which the Greek people took in going from their home, and beyond the peninsula and the colonies on the islands, to the coast of Asia. The Ægean Sea thereby became a Greek lake. Isocrates says, to the praise of the Athenians: "There was much fighting about the Cyclades at the time of the dominion of Minos—the Carians had ultimately possessed them. The Athenians drove out the Carians; they did not however appropriate the islands, but colonised them with those of the Hellenes who were most in want of means of subsistence. Afterwards the Athenians built on both continents many great cities, drove the barbarians from the sea, and showed the Hellenes in what way they might increase their dominions, and against what enemies they might fight and magnify Hellas."[2] "The sons of Minos," says Plutarch, "had first conquered the Cyclades, afterwards they became peopled by the companions of Neleus and Androclus, and out of the battles of Neleus and Androclus in Caria and Lydia Hellas beheld Ionia once more emerge.[3] When, after the battle of Mycale, the leaders of the victors held counsel over the future of the Ionians, and the

[1] Strabo, p. 384; Diodor. 15, 49.
[2] *Panathen.* 43, 44. [3] *De Exilio*, 10; *De Glor. Athen.* 7.

Peloponnesians voted that the Ionians should be transplanted to Hellas in order to secure them against the Persians, the Athenians replied that it did not become the Peloponnesians to make resolutions about the daughter cities of Athens. They admitted Samos, Chios, Lesbos, together with the inhabitants of the other islands who were with them, into alliance, when these had solemnly and religiously promised upon oath to remain faithful to the league and never to break from it."[1]

The Ionians who had taken possession of the Cyclades formed the natural link between the tribes who remained on the peninsula and the Ionians of the new domains in the east, between Eubœa and Attica on the one side, and between Chios and Samos, Miletus and Ephesus, on the other. Populations of the same kind and origin now possessed almost equal territories on both sides of the Ægean. The Ionians of the islands consecrated a rock which rose high out of the sea in the midst of these islands, shone brightly in the sunshine, and, being sheltered by the neighbouring islands Rhenea and Myconus from the storms, was surrounded by clear sparkling waves, to Apollo their god of light. Whether the Ionians had previously found here an older worship of the Carians or Phœnicians in which they recognised that of their Apollo, or whether they consecrated Delos to Apollo without such a precedent, cannot be decided. The ancient temple of Apollo at Delos bears indications, so far as can be known, of a Phœnician mode of building. It leans against the rocks, and is built into a niche among them. Walls of rock form the sides and background of it—from side-wall to side-wall

[1] Herod. 9, 106.

there are ten great stone beams which form the roof; in front the sacred place was closed by a wall of Cyclopean character. If the Ionians came first from the islands which surround Delos as in a circle, in the early days of Thargelion (May), to bring to the god the firstlings of the crops which his rays ripened,[1] their fellowtribesmen from the north and south joined in this sacrifice at any rate from the beginning of the eighth century. If the Ionians, in their old abodes to the north and south of the isthmus, had previously assembled at the isthmus in order to offer to Poseidon, they now found themselves together in Delos, the natural meeting-point of their race, for the sacrifice to Apollo. The Ionians thought that the chariot of Helios, faring from the east, reached the centre of the sky above this their sacred island, midway between the two continents. Sacred Delos and the slender palm-tree now at the altar of Apollo are well known to the Homeric poems, at any rate to the *Odyssey*.[2]

It was the fixed belief of the Greeks that if a god was specially worshipped in any territory, that territory belonged to him, and that he must continue to be worshipped if the land was to enjoy prosperity and success. The Ionians, on taking possession of the coast of Asia, had found at Miletus the temple and oracle of a god of the Carians in which they thought they recognised their Apollo. They honoured this place, and left the service and the oracle in the hands of the native priestly family in which they already were—the Branchidæ. This ancient Carian temple at Didyma became the most celebrated temple of Miletus. In like manner the inhabitants of Pylus, who founded Colophon, adopted the worship of the Lydian sun-god,

[1] Bœckh, *Staatshaushalt*. 2[2], 82. [2] *Odyss.* 6, 162.

which they found existing in the region conquered by them on the coast at Clarus, and held in honour the traditional oracle of the god of Clarus. It was therefore afterwards inserted among the Greek legends that Calchas and Teiresias came here on their way from Ilium, and that Teiresias died and was buried here; others related that Mopsus, son of Manto the daughter of Teiresias, had excelled Calchas at Clarus in prophesying, and Calchas died of grief on account of this.[1] That the Ephesians did not attack the temple of Artemis which they found in the plain of the Cayster, and that they received the priests, the inhabitants of the temple precincts, by a treaty into their commonwealth, has been already observed. By the name of Artemis the Greeks designated the goddess of the Lydians, whose warlike side was first presented to their view. She was the goddess of war and death of the Semitic nations, the Istar-Belit of the Eastern Semites, the Astarte-Ashera of the Western Semites; who must be worshipped with abstinence; who carries the weapons of a man; who, at one time a maiden warrior and hostile to generation, brings death; and at another favourable to productiveness and fruitfulness, is the nurturing goddess. Thus the maiden Artemis in Ephesus, the women in whose temple were destined to eternal chastity and whose priests were eunuchs, could be at the same time the goddess with many breasts.[2] The warlike side first struck the settlers. The weapon-bearing maidens whom the Ionians found established about the temple on the Cayster, with whom they fought, and whom they at last received by treaty into their

[1] The first version belongs to the *Nosti* (Phot. *Bibl. Cod.* 239), the second to the *Eoæ*, or the catalogue of women; Strabo, p. 642.
[2] Strabo, p. 641.

commonwealth—against these Theseus, the hero of the Ionic race, had already fought, and had carried off Antiope, sister of their queen.[1] Moreover, the Ionians recognised in Sandon the sun-god of the Lydians one aspect of their Apollo, while they identified the aspect of Sandon-Melkarth, according to which he looses the girdle of the war-goddess, with the form of the hero Heracles (which meanwhile had been invented); therefore Theseus was said to have already marched with Heracles against the Amazons. In the first half of the eighth century the ships of the Milesians discovered the Black Sea, and found there, on the north coast of Asia Minor, at the mouth of the Thermodon, among the "white Syrians," the worship of a goddess of war, to whom weapon-dances were held by the maidens who served the temple. Then they believed they had found in this place the home of the Amazons. From Thermodon the Amazons had marched; they had founded the temple of their goddess at Ephesus, and the city itself.[2] How then the sacred places for the cultus of Astarte, founded by the Phœnicians on the east coast of Hellas, combined with the cults of Ephesus and Thermodon, helped the Greeks to form the legend of the expedition of the Amazons into Hellas, we have already seen (p. 65); in order to revenge the rape of Antiope, they went to Attica. Afterwards, as the Homeric poems related, Priam fought at the Sangarius against the Amazons who had come from Thermodon,[3] and the *Iliad* mentions a grave of the Amazons at Ilium; lastly, Arctinus of Miletus, about the middle of the

[1] *Supra*, pp. 63, 64; Pindar in Pausanias, 1, 2, 1.
[2] Pindar in Pausanias, 7, 2, 7; Callimach. *Hymn. in Dian.* 239; Justin. 2, 4.
[3] *Il.* 3, 184-189.

eighth century, makes the Amazon Penthesilea come to the help of the Trojans.[1]

It was not only on this side that the colonisation of the Ionians enlarged the circle of Greek legend. After the Ionians had settled in the Cyclades, Theseus is said to have destroyed the Minotaurus, not in Attica but in Crete (p. 119), the abode of Minos himself; returning victorious, he landed on the sacred rock of Delos, and here returned thanks to Apollo for the victory. The rescued youths and maidens held the *first choric dance in artistically-woven rows about the* altar of Apollo, and Theseus gave a branch of the sacred palm as a token of victory to the best dancer.[2] Thus the hero of the Ionian race was not merely the founder of the common offering to Poseidon on the isthmus, but also of the offering at Delos, which was now introduced for the Ionians in that spot; the Athenians believed that they still possessed the ship which had brought Theseus to Crete and Delos. On his further return-voyage, Theseus had deserted Ariadne at Naxos, a legend the meaning of which has already been discussed (p. 121).

[1] Phot. *Bibl. Cod* 239.

[2] Plut. *Thes.* 21.

CHAPTER V.

THE THESSALIANS AND THE PHOCIANS.

In the great movement of races which proceeded from those Thesprotians who became the Thessalians, the best territories of the peninsula came into the hands of new masters, the power and glory of the ancient principalities of Orchomenus and Mycenæ declined, a new family came to the front in Attica, and a long period of disturbance commenced, in which any skill that had been gained in the arts of sculpture and architecture was either half forgotten or entirely lost. Out of the destruction wrought by war and change of abode, civilisation had to emerge anew and to assume fresh shapes. Life on the peninsula must have become impoverished in these long struggles; and the leaders of the conquerors had not the resources which had been at the disposal of the princes of Mycenæ and Orchomenus.

The Thessalians had planted themselves in the most extensive and fruitful regions of the peninsula—the basin of the Peneus, which now received from them the name of Thessaly, and had become their land. The Hestiæans, the Dorians, the Arnæans, had been forced to give way before them. The Lapithæ and Pelasgiotes we met with in Attica; the Magnetes and Phthiotes on the other side of the Ægean in Magnesia, on Mount Sipylus, on the Mæander, and among

the Achæans on the coast of the Teucrians. But a considerable portion of the Magnetes as of the Phthiotes remained on Mount Pelion, in the southern mountains of Thessaly and on Mount Othrys, and continued, like the Perrhæbians in the north, to make war against the new rulers on the Peneus.

The irruption of the Thessalians into the basin of the Peneus occurred, as we have ventured to conclude in a previous chapter, about the year 1050 B.C. Of the course taken by their conquests we can only positively learn that the Dorians were expelled, and the Arnæans conquered (p. 209); we only hear that the Thessalians, after they were in the land, had to sustain conflicts with the Achæans of Phthia, and with the Magnetes and Perrhæbians. On the road which brought the Thessalians from the west side of Mount Pindus to the Peneus they must first have encountered the Dorians and Hestiæans, in the north-west corner of the land of the Peneus. The former gave way entirely, the latter only in part; the Hestiæans who emigrated, founded Hestiæa on the north coast of Eubœa.[1] The country itself retained the name of Hestiæotis from the ancient inhabitants. The subjugation of the Hestiæans was followed by the conquest of the Arnæans on the southern affluents of the Peneus. Here the immigrants principally settled, as is proved by the new name taken from the conquerors, and especially attributed to this region: Thessaliotis. Pharsalus, on the borders of the Phthiotes, here became the chief city of the conquerors.[2] Subsequently the Thessalians became lords of the

[1] In Strabo this is indeed reversed, p. 433. But the Hestiæans had undoubtedly taken part in the sacrifice at Anthela, and as the Ionians of Eubœa did so likewise subsequently, Hestiæa in Eubœa must have gained them admittance.

[2] Bursian, *Geograph.* 1, 75.

fruitful region on the middle and lower Peneus, and of the region about the lakes of Nessonis and Bœbeis. Here, in the "plain of the Pelasgians," around Larisa, was the abode of that ancient agricultural commonwealth in the land of the Peneus; farther down the river lay the cities of the Lapithæ, Gyrton, and Elatea (p. 246); to the south Pheræ, and Iolcus on the Gulf of Pagasæ, formerly the abode of the Phœnician settlers, and the centre of the ancient navigation. To this district and its inhabitants clung the name of the oldest period, that of Pelasgians; it is called in more recent times Pelasgiotis. Larisa and Crannon were here the chief cities of the Thessalians.

Whether the Thessalians already, at their entrance into the country now called by their name, obeyed one leader is doubtful; tradition calls Thessalus their king. That the Thessalians were afterwards governed by princes, under whose rule the whole valley-basin attained to political unity, is certain. After the princes of the Dorians in the Peloponnesus had traced their descent to Heracles, the princes of the conquerors in the north, the Thessalian princes, would not be behind them. Thessalus accordingly is called a descendant of Heracles. The princes of Macedonia assigned to themselves the same origin. A king of the race, who commanded the Thessalians, Aleuas by name—so we are told—wished to exclude his son Pyrrhus from the succession to the throne; with this view he sent lots to Delphi; the man whose lot the Pythia drew should be king, and as he had given no lot for Pyrrhus, he thought Pyrrhus was certainly excluded. But the Pythia drew the lot of Pyrrhus, which the brother of his father Aleuas had secretly added; and when Aleuas declared that no lot had been there for Pyrrhus,

the god answered: "Pyrrhus I name to them, son of Archedice." "So Pyrrhus became king, and, having succeeded to the throne, he surpassed all his predecessors and raised the nation to great glory and power."[1] On this Aristotle remarks that the son of Pyrrhus, who was again called Aleuas, after his grandfather, divided Thessaly into the four districts—Thessaliotis, Hestiæotis, Pelasgiotis, and Phthiotis—which we find in existence later on. From this we may conclude that King Pyrrhus had completed the conquest of the land, and we may place the reign of his father Aleuas about the year 850 B.C., and that of Pyrrhus about 800 B.C.; for what Aristotle says of Aleuas, the son of Pyrrhus, shows the monarchy still in full force, whereas elsewhere among the Hellenes about the middle of the eighth century monarchy was at any rate dying out, if not extinct. Even after the fall of the monarchy in Thessaly, we find the posterity of this royal house, the Aleuadæ, existing as late as the years 600 B.C. and 500 B.C. as a dynasty[2] at Larisa, at Pharsalus, and subsequently also at Crannon; and if the community of the nobility of Thessaly, *i.e.* of the posterity of the conquerors, to whom after the fall of the monarchy the government of the country was transferred, found it necessary in time of war to appoint at their head a leader of the army, a chief (*ταγός*), these leaders were chosen, until after the year 500 B.C., out of this house.[3]

In Thessaliotis, Hestiæotis, and Pelasgiotis the

[1] Plut. *de Fraterno Amore*, ch. 21.

[2] Herod. 7, 6; Thucyd. 4, 78. The date of Eurylochus is fixed by the sacred war at about 600, then came Simos, then a third Aleuas; Aristot. *Pol.* 5, 5, 9; Buttmann, *Mythologus*, 2, 246, 254, 281.

[3] For example, Eurylochus of Larisa, Antiochus, and Echecratidas of Pharsalus. In the case of the Tagus Lattamyas, who fell in 570 in battle against the Bœotians, this is certainly doubtful.

conquerors took possession of as much of the land as seemed good to them; the old inhabitants who did not leave the country were degraded into slaves, and became the property of the new rulers, who were now the nobility of the new commonwealth. They had to serve their masters, to till their masters' ground, and herd their masters' cattle; in Thessaly they were named Penestæ, *i.e.* the poor people. They were hardly used: not one of them was allowed to present himself unbidden at the places where the nobles assembled. Aristotle compares the Penestæ of the Thessalians to the Helots of the Spartans. Like the Helots, the Penestæ repeatedly rebelled against their masters; like them, they were on the watch for every misfortune which overtook the commonwealth of their rulers in order to rise at that time. The first insurrections of the Penestæ took place at the time when the Thessalians had to fight with the Achæans, Magnetes, and Perrhæbians."[1] From this it follows that even when the Thessalians were already in possession of the plains and the highlands, the Magnetes on Mount Pelion, the Perrhæbians on the declivity of Olympus, and the Achæans in the mountains of the south, still carried on their resistance to them. King Pyrrhus must have succeeded about the year 800 B.C. in breaking down this resistance; otherwise his son Aleuas would not have been able to co-ordinate the territory of Phthiotis with the territories of Thessaliotis, Hestiæotis, and Pelasgiotis, even though this did not take place by conquest, but by an agreement or treaty—a fact which is proved by the position in which we afterwards find the Phthiotes, the Magnetes, and the Perrhæbians in relation to the Thes-

[1] Aristot. *Pol.* 2, 6, 2; 7, 11, 2.

salians. The Phthiotes are indeed dependent, but they are neither Penestæ nor Periœci. This position was maintained by the Magnetes and Perrhæbians. There remained to these races more than personal freedom and property. They were called indeed subjects of the Thessalians;[1] and we are told that the Perrhæbians sent tribute to Larisa:[2] but they formed separate commonwealths, recognising the supremacy of the kings and afterwards of the community of the Thessalian nobles. The Phthiotes retained the whole southern part of the Peneus basin; the fourth part of Thessaly is called after them; they occupied Halus on the Gulf of Pagasæ, Iton, the Phthiotian Thebes, Phylace; and in the south their dominion extended over Mount Othrys into the valley of the Spercheus. Their dependence on the Thessalians must have been very slight. In Herodotus their country appears as an independent state, not as a district belonging to Thessaly.[3] There is a still clearer proof that the Perrhæbians, Magnetes, and Phthiotes possessed no inconsiderable share of independence, in the fact that they preserved their share in the ancient common sacrifice at Anthela (p. 158). In short, the ancient royal race, the Athamantidæ, reigned on in Halus and Iolcus, and even after the fall of the monarchy, this race was held in honour, as has been already shown above (p. 76). The persistence with which the Phthiotes and Magnetes must have defended their mountain country against the Thessalians in order to retain such a position, no less than the bravery shown by that portion of the Magnetes and Phthiotes on the coast of Asia, whither they fled as emigrants

[1] Thucyd. 2, 101; 4, 78. Xenoph. *Hellen.* 6, 18. Polybius, 18, 30; 6, 7. [2] Strabo, p. 440. [3] 7, 173. 196, 198.

before the Thessalians, must have contributed to give the warriors of Phthia and Phylace that rank in the *Epos* which they occupy in the Homeric poems. As the name of the Pelasgians adhered to the country on the middle Peneus and the lakes, so the name of the Achæans adhered to the Phthiotes: they are called the Achæans of Phthia. It was the ancient population (Minyæ and Achæans), which did not migrate and was not subjugated, that here maintained itself. Here it had dwelt from of old, and hither in part it had been forced down from the middle tracts of Thessaly. At the same time, however, there was a recognition of the supremacy of the Thessalians on the part of the Achæans of Phthia.[1] This we are expressly informed; and without such an attitude of the Phthiotes to the Thessalians it would be inexplicable how the latter could have accomplished what they did in the epoch succeeding Aleuas the second, viz. when they extended their dominion beyond Mount Othrys towards the south, brought the small tribes of the Ænians and Dolopians, the Malians, and Oetæans into subjection, and exercised a predominant influence in the valley of the Spercheus as far as Thermopylæ,[2] even though the tribes of the Perrhæbians, Magnetes, and Phthiotes remained apart, and continued to arrange their private affairs for themselves. It is evident that in the wars determined on by the kings of Thessaly, and afterwards by the collective nobility and their head, the ταγὸς, all the dependent tribes had to furnish contingents and contribute to the expenses.[3]

According to this, centuries must have elapsed,

[1] Xenoph. *Hell.* 6, 1, 9. [2] Thucyd. 3, 93.
[3] Xenoph. *loc. cit.* 6, 1, 11, 19.

after the invasion of the Thessalians, before the whole country between Mount Olympus and Mount Othrys obeyed them, and before peaceful relations were established between the ancient races which had maintained their ground and the new rulers of the land. The great extent of the region of which the conquerors took immediate possession, the fruitfulness of the land and the range of its pastures, enabled the descendants of those conquerors to win and to maintain the position and habits of a knightly nobility. The nature of the land allowed the breeding of horses to be carried on to a large extent. We are told that members of the Thessalian nobility could mount from two to three hundred of their followers; that they took an independent part with these armies in the wars of other cantons, or fought out their own feuds.[1] The Thessalian nobles formed the best troopers of the peninsula; as on the other side of the Ægean Sea, Colophon, more than any other Ionian city on the coast, cultivated skill in cavalry tactics. About the middle of the seventh century we find Thessalian warriors at Eubœa, south of Thermopylæ; here they furnished efficient aid to the city of Chalcis against Eretria (Book 2, ch. 8). Afterwards the Thessalians were in a position to send into the field eight thousand knights with the soldiers belonging to them.[2] The generous and magnanimous hospitality of the Thessalians is famous,[3] but it is also said of them that they were inordinately addicted to the joys of feasting and drinking—customs which with them no doubt dated from old times; that they had little respect for law; that, being reckless, violent, and passionate, they readily

[1] Demosthen. *de Ord. Rep.* p. 173; *contra Aristocr.* p. 687 R.
[2] Xenoph. *Hell.* 6, 1, 19. [3] Xenoph. *loc. cit.* 6, 1, 3.

quarrelled and appealed to arms.[1] The tribes subjected to the supremacy of the Thessalians remained true to their old style of armour and mode of life. In the fifth and fourth centuries we find the Magnetes still wearing their old national dress, and all armed in the manner described in the Homeric poems as the dress of the heroes, with the spear and the round shield.[2]

The districts south of the valley of the Spercheus did not remain undisturbed by the tumult of the migrations. The Dorians, driven out of Hestiæotis, had in their turn driven the Dryopians, who dwelt on the southern declivity of Mount Oeta, among the affluents of the Bœotian Cephisus, and settled themselves here on the stream of the Pindus, at Erineus, Cytinium, and Bœum; the Dryopians found refuge in Eubœa and with the Achæans on the coast of the peninsula of Argolis. Subsequently the greater portion of the Dorians turned towards the Peloponnesus. South-east from Thermopylæ, along the rocky coast of the Sound of Eubœa, on Mount Phrycium, and farther east on Mount Cnemis, dwelt the eastern Locrians,—the Locrians of Opus. A part of these had gone over to the coasts of Asia with the emigrant Achæans, and had there had an important share in the founding of Cyme and Smyrna (p. 231). In the Homeric poems, the Locrians are represented by Patroclus of Opus and Ajax son of Oileus, who here appears beside his namesake, the son of Telamon, "the bulwark of the Achæans," as a light armed and agile warrior.[3] The

[1] Thucyd. 4, 78; Plato, *Crito*, p. 53; Theopomp. *Fragm.* 54, 178, Ed. Muller; Demosthen. *Olynth.* 1, p. 15; *in Aristocr.* p. 657 R.
[2] Pind. *Pyth.* 4, 141: Xenoph. *loc. cit.* 6, 1, 9, 19.
[3] *Il.* 18, 326; 23, 85; 12, 265; 13, 702; 17, 507.

Locrians of the old home lived, so far as we can ascertain, in their communities by their herds and by agriculture; later on they formed, under the predominating influence of the old and wealthy families, a loosely united confederation, at the head of which was Opus.[1] South of the Locrians the Phocians occupied the land of the upper valley of the Cephisus, which lies in the depression between the precipices of Cnemis and the heights of Parnassus; their dominion stretched away over the broad ridges of Parnassus to the waters of the Corinthian gulf. There, on the Cephisus, in the more fruitful part of their country, lay the most important of the two-and-twenty communities which were afterwards reckoned in Phocis: namely, Tithronium, Elatea, Daulis, and Panopeus.

On the summit of Parnassus, on Lycorea, which, rising 7500 feet, towers high above the wild indented mountain mass extending to the south-west, the god of light had been worshipped from ancient times; his rays each day first greeted this summit, and left it last. Towards the Corinthian gulf the mountain falls in steep and rugged walls to the coast plain and to the Pleistus, which flows round its southern foot and into the Gulf of Corinth at Cirrha. A terrace of this group of mountains, more than 2000 feet above the level of the shore, is perpendicularly overhung by two limestone precipices, nearly 1000 feet high, the Phædriades (*i.e.*, no doubt, the glittering ones), and is watered by three streams—the Castalian fountain, *which springs out of the chasm between the two* Phædriades, high up in the rocks; farther to the west, the fountain of Cassotis, which waters a laurel-grove;

[1] Strabo, p. 425; *C.I.G.* Nos. 1751, 1352; Timæi *Fragm.* 67, Ed. Müller; Polybius, 12, 5.

still farther westward, the fountain of Delphusa: the streams which are formed by the springs of Castalia and Delphusa unite lower down and flow into the Pleistus. It was a secluded, stern, lonely, and solemn mountain scene. To the west of the fountain of Castalia there opened on the terrace, in a cavernous depression, a narrow fissure, out of which vapours ascended. The fancy of the Hellenes saw in these vapours a dæmon, a serpent of darkness, like the Gorgon and Bellerus, a dragon which the god of light slew with his arrows. This dark and gloomy nature did not succeed in hiding the light of day and of heaven. The battle of Apollo with the dragon, like the deeds of Perseus-Apollo and of Apollo-Bellerophontes, forms a portion of the conflict which the light-gods have to sustain against the dæmons of darkness. Sacrifices were offered to the victor Apollo, as the conqueror of darkness and of the dragon, by a laurel-tree which grew near the fissure; from the tree the god himself was said to have plucked his victor's wreath. When it is said that the most ancient temple of Apollo at the fissure consisted of laurel-boughs,[1] nothing more is meant than that the sacrifices were formerly offered in this laurel-grove. This shrine of Apollo belonged, as far as we can see, to the territory or the domain of the old Phocian town of Crisa, which lay westward of it on the spurs of Parnassus, here declining steeply down to the Pleistus. Among the towns of the Phocians Crisa occupied a prominent place. In the catalogue of ships in the *Iliad*, Crisa is distinguished by the name of the "holy." The importance of the town and its commonwealth, in ancient times, is shown by the fact that the gulf, which was after-

[1] Pausan. 10, 5, 6.

wards called after Corinth, was previously called the Crisaic Gulf.

The god of light, who illuminates and penetrates all things with his rays, who sees everything, and from whom nothing remains hidden, is to the Greeks the god of prophecy: his temple under the Phædriades became their most famous shrine: its gradually increasing reputation diminished, though it did not destroy, that of Dodona. At the shrine of Parnassus a woman thrown into convulsions[1] by the vapours arising from the fissure or by their chilling blast, "with raving mouth, but full of the god," as Heracleitus of Ephesus says,[2] declared the decrees of the light-god. Prophecy from caves of the earth is foreign to the Arian nations. How far the oracular places of the Lydian, Carian, and Teucrian sun-god, which the emigrants to Clarus found at Colophon, at Miletus, and in the domain of the Teucrians, may have influenced this notion of the Greeks, we cannot decide. From the oracle the shrine received the name of Pytho, *i.e.*, no doubt, place of enquiry; subsequently the name of Delphi, probably traceable to the cave, came into use for the township which grew up around the shrine of the oracle.[3]

[1] Justin. 24, 6. [2] Plut. *Pyth. Orac.* ch. 6.

[3] The derivation from πύθεσθαι, to putrefy, which is given in the Hymn to Apollo (v. 372), is incorrect, though ancient. In regard to the derivation of Delphi (first thus named, so far as I can discover, in Heracleitus of Ephesus, Plut. *Pyth. Or.* ch. 21, and in the very late *Hym. Hom.* 27, 14) I may observe that the Delphusa is also called Styx; and concerning δελφύς and δελφίς (dolphin), I must refer to Curtius, *Griech. Etymol.* p. 436. The dragon slain by Apollo is called Pytho as well as δελφίν or δελφίνη (Plut. *Pyth. Orac.* ch. 17). In the caves of Mount Ida there were soothsaying women (Dionys. Hal. 1, 55; Steph. Byz. Γέργις); in the sanctuary of the Branchidæ a woman prophesied, inspired either by drinking of the temple springs or by the steam arising from them (Jambl. *de Myst.* 3, 11); at Patara in Lycia, and at Pedasus in Caria, women likewise prophesied (Herod. 1, 78, 157, 182; 8, 104. Servius, *ad Æneid.* 3, 322; 4, 143). The operation of

The date from which prophecy and soothsaying existed here cannot be certainly fixed. If the notices in the *Odyssey* are due to poetical imitations,[1] the ancient *Iliad* speaks of the treasures "which the strong threshold of Phœbus-Apollo shuts up within the rocky Pytho."[2] The verdict of Pytho in favour of the succession of Pyrrhus was given, as we have seen, about the middle of the ninth century. But however this may be, we know of an oracle of the god at Pytho which was of great importance for the ordering of a commonwealth of the Dorians in the south of the Peloponnesus, and certainly was given before the year 800 B.C.[3] According to the legend of Delphi, King Iphitus of Elis personally came to Pytho in the year 756 B.C. to enquire of the god.[4] The states united in the federation of Argos sacrificed to Apollo-Pythæus. The foundation of this community cannot be placed later than the times of King Pheidon of Argos, *i.e.* not later

Oriental influences at Delphi would be certain if the cube-shaped block of marble in the cella near the sacrificial hearth, the ὀμφαλός in the temple of Delphi, and the stone near the grave of Neoptolemus, which was daily anointed with oil, were originally worshipped as images of the god. Then the hymn composed to Apollo (v. 177, *et seq.*) at a late period, not much before 600 B.C. (Book 3, ch. 9), might have been right in asserting that the oracle was founded here from Crete; it must in that case, however, have been Dorians of Cnossus (the hymn says Cretans of Cnossus; v. 396) who completed its foundation (cf. *C.I.G.* No. 2584). Meanwhile the reverence paid to the oracle of Pytho is probably as ancient as the colonies of the Dorians of Argos and Cnossus (*infra*, ch. 7), and in this hymn the identification of Apollo with the dolphin (δέμας δελφῖνι ἐοικὼς), and that of the Crisæans, in whose hands Delphi was when the hymn was sung, with Crete—*Κρίση* = *Κρῆσσα* beside *Κρὴς*, *Κρήτη*—is very suspicious. We can scarcely help conjecturing that nothing more than these two plays on words lie at the basis of the whole narrative of the hymn. When, in the *Eumenides* of Æschylus, the oracle first belongs to Gæa, this right of possession is based upon the cave in the earth. Themis follows Gæa, because Apollo has to declare the *θέμιστες* of Zeus; lastly comes Phœbe, because a woman speaks in the name of Apollo, and then Phœbus.

[1] 8, 79; 11, 579. [2] *Il.* 9, 404, 405. [3] *Infra*, ch. 9.
[4] Phlegon. *Fragm.* 1, Ed. Muller.

than the middle of the eighth century. King Pheidon is said to have renewed this confederation. The races who came from the north-west and north, conquering and overturning all the ancient possessors and possessions [1]—these are the races whom we first find enquiring at Pytho. We know that the Dorians in the Peloponnesus worshipped Apollo as leader of their armies and of their conquests. They may therefore have turned to this oracle the more readily, as the old masters of their land had sought the oracle of Dodona. But in the course of the eighth century the fame of Delphi is said to have extended beyond the limits of the territories of the Greeks. We may therefore suppose that the oracle in the cave on Mount Parnassus existed from the beginning of the ninth century, since enquiries had already been made there from the Peloponnesus after the middle of this century.

Previously to the time of the migration, as we have already seen, the races who dwelt in the basin of the Peneus, in the valley of the Spercheus, and the mountain districts lying to the south, had combined to offer a common sacrifice in autumn at the foot of Mount Oeta, at Anthela, near the mouth of the Asopus, not far from Thermopylæ, to Demeter the goddess of agriculture, apparently as a thank-offering for the harvest. Those who took part in it were the Malians in whose land the shrine lay, the Oetæans, the Dolopians, the Ænians, the Perrhæbians, the Dorians, the Hestiæans, the Magnetes, the Arnæans, the Phthiotes, the Phocians, and the eastern Locrians (p. 158); it was an offering by the neighbours, the Amphictyons. This ancient sacrifice must have been

[1] Androclus also is said to have built a temple to the Pythian Apollo, *supra*, p. 263.

much disturbed, if not entirely interrupted, by the irruption of the Thessalians and the conflicts which followed this immigration. When more peaceful times supervened, we find the ancient participants again united for the sacrifice of neighbours, and the new rulers of the country, the Thessalians, taking part with them. The old commonwealth was maintained. The Arnæans, now settled in Bœotia, the Hestiæans, colonists in Eubœa, all took part—the former under their new name of Bœotians; also that portion of the Dorians who had remained about the affluents of the Cephisus, the Phthiotes, the Perrhæbians, and Magnetes, although they acknowledged the supremacy of the Thessalians—the Oetæans, Malians, Dolopians, and Ænians, who came or had already come into a like dependence; lastly, the Locrians and the Phocians. The Thessalians appear to have taken the place of the Pelasgiotes, *i.e.* of the ancient inhabitants of the lower Peneus, whom they had driven out. They could lay no claim to the bringing and ordering of a sacrifice which did not originate with them; yet they could not on the other hand give over the conduct of it to the Malians, a tribe which was subject to them, to whose land the sacrifice was brought, according to the custom of the Hellenes in regard to common offerings and games. This want of a supreme guidance, of a definitely appointed directorship of the sacrifice, led those who were associated in the offering at Anthela to a special form of commonwealth. The representatives of the participating tribes together were responsible for the peaceful conduct of the festival, the protection of the embassies, the carrying out of the sacrifice, the defence of the holy places. The equal right of all associated in the sacrifice received its expression in the

equal votes of the representatives of the participating tribes. The regulations in regard to the sacrifice by which the associates should be bound were decided in a general council. It was a kind of federation of those associated in the offering which sprang from this community. The commonwealth remained a commonwealth of neighbours, of Amphictyons; the traditional number of twelve—at which the Ionians of the shore had also fixed the number of the sacrificing tribes at Helice, and which was retained at Mycale (p. 274)—continued to be enforced; the assembly of the representatives of the twelve associates was called, from the place where they assembled and conferred, "Pylæa;" the representatives themselves "Pylagoræ;"[1] Demeter, the goddess to whom the sacrifice of the neighbours, the Amphictyons, was offered, received the surname of Amphictyonis; and, as afterwards in the seventh century, the unity of the Greek tribes found expression in the legend of the sons of Hellen,—as the ancient name of Deucalion preceded that of Hellen, —so Deucalion or Hellen received also a son Amphictyon, who ruled at Thermopylæ and founded the sacrifice. To this Amphictyon a Heroon was dedicated near the temple of Demeter at Anthela. The members of a community which assembled every autumn for a solemn sacrifice, to protect and take care of their temples in common, to effect a suspension of hostilities during the time of the festival and guarantee safe conduct thither, and to maintain order and peace during the feast, could no longer meet each other as deadly enemies. The old oath of the members, by which they were incorporated, has been handed down to us. It ran thus: "To destroy none of the Amphictyonic

[1] Marm. Par. *Ep.* 5.

communities, nor to cut off their running water neither in war nor in peace; if this law should be transgressed, to march against the transgressor in the field, and to destroy his town; and if any one should pillage the temple of the goddess, or devise a plot against the temples, or be privy to such a scheme, to punish him with hand and foot and word, and with all their might."[1]

The entrance of the Thessalians into a community for sacrifice, whose chief members had been either driven out by them or, after long wars, had at length, as Aristotle tells us, become subject to them, can only have been accomplished in times when more peaceful conditions had been introduced, and the relations between the Thessalians and the ancient races of the country had become settled. Only in such times would there be a readiness on their part to acknowledge these tribes, in spite of such dependence, as confederates with equal rights. As King Pyrrhus surpassed his predecessors on the throne of Thessaly in power and glory, and his son Aleuas is said to have completed the division of the country which was in force later (p. 286), we may venture to assign the new and firmer settlement of the Council of Amphictyons at Anthela to the first half of the eighth century. It was the period in which the movement of conquests and settlements came to a conclusion, and there was peace; for the Eleans, with their neighbours the Messenians and Achæans, *i.e.* with immigrant and old-established races, undertook the sacrifice which the Pisatæ had formerly offered to Zeus and to Hera on the territory taken by them from the Eleans, at the time when the Ionians assembled from their new and old abodes for the common spring sacrifice to Apollo in Delos. King Antiochus of

[1] Æschin. *de falsa Legat.* 115.

Messenia, before the outbreak of the conflict between Sparta and Messenia, is said to have commanded them to seek a decision of the quarrel from the Argives, who shared in the sacrifice.[1]

It was not very long after the entrance of the Thessalians into the Amphictyonic League that the relations in which an old member of the community, the tribe of Phocians, stood to the shrine of Pytho, situated on Phocian ground, the growing importance of this oracle, the influence which it had attained, the increased participation in the offering brought hither to Apollo, to the place which he himself had chosen for his abode, where he declared his will, determined the Amphictyons to bring hither a common sacrifice, to afford the protection of their union to the sacrifices offered at Pytho and to the temple at Pytho itself, and to take this also under the supervision and guardianship of the Amphictyons. We found that the Thessalians already, in the year 850 B.C., had relations with Pytho; it was a response of Pytho which gained for Pyrrhus the succession to the throne. At Pytho the Amphictyons offered the common sacrifice in spring, in the Delphic month Bysius (February to March). The embassies of the Amphictyonic tribes after this assembled twice every year—in spring at Delphi; in autumn, in the month Bucatius (September), at Anthela: their assembly at Pytho bore the ancient name of Pylæa. The representative of the Thessalians may have presided in the two assemblies of the Pylagoræ, but *his* vote was of no greater weight than that of the representative of the Perrhæbians or Phthiotes.[2]

[1] Pausan. 4, 5, 2; *infra*, Book 2, ch. 3.

[2] In the sacred war the head of the Thessalians is the leader of the executive, and consequently the Agonothetes of the Pythia (Pindar,

In every eighth year the sacrifice offered to Apollo at Delphi in September, in the month Bucatius, was celebrated with peculiar solemnity. Then the great year had run its course, and another great year began. The Hellenes, like the Arians on the Indus, measured time according to the new and full moon. Thus there resulted twelve months of twenty-nine and thirty days for their year. This year, with its three hundred and fifty-four days (for every two months, one with another, fifty-nine days were reckoned), remained behind the course of the sun by eleven and a quarter days. It must have been early perceived that such a division of time did not agree with the solstices; and that this year in every fourth year was a whole month behind them. The Germani, and apparently also the Indians in very ancient times, resorted to the expedient[1] of introducing twelve days after the winter

ὑπόθεσις πυθίων; Demosthen. *Phil.* 2, p. 71; *Phil.* 4, p. 150; *De Pace*, p. 62; *De Cherson*, p. 105 R; Æschin. *in Ctesiph.* 124; Xenoph. *Hell.* 6, 4, 30; cf. Diodor. 16, 60). *Burgel places the extension of the* Amphictyonic League to Delphi after the war against Crisa. This is contradicted by the statement of Strabo that the Crisæans, "against the command of the Amphictyons," had taken tribute from the pilgrims (p. 418); also by the statement of Æschines (*in Ctesiph.* 107), and that of Plutarch (*Sol.* c. 2), founded on the assertion of Aristotle, that Solon had determined the Amphictyons to the war against Crisa. If the council of the Amphictyons had nothing to do with Delphi, it could hardly have made resolutions against the tribute of the Crisæans and in favour of Delphi. Moreover, the name Hellenes, even according to Burgel's view, did not emanate in the least degree from the Amphictyons. The Parian Marble represents the Panhellenia as introduced a year after the Pylæa, at the time when Hellen was reigning in Phthiotis (*Ep.* 6). But the oracle of Delphi employed the appellation "Hellenic" for Zeus and Athena, according to the evidence of the Rhetra of Lycurgus, even before the year 800 B.C. On the other hand, the "Panhellenia" of Archilochus testify that the name Hellenes was in use about the middle of the seventh century. Accordingly, we may well assume that the Amphictyons, not only before 600 but even before 700, had sacrificed and assembled at Delphi.

[1] *Atharvaveda*, 4, 11, 11; in Weber's *Indische Studien*, 10, 242, *sqq*.

solstice, so that the year was then brought to three hundred and sixty-six days; while the Greeks from time to time interpolated a thirteenth month. The eleven and a quarter days wanting in the lunar year of three hundred and fifty-four days, in eight years give a total of ninety days; if this be divided into three months of thirty days, and three months were added in every eight years, in the beginning of the ninth year, the natural time would again be attained.[1] The establishment of this cycle of ninety-nine months instead of ninety-six, which at first could not have been quite accurately fixed, seems to have emanated from the priests at Pytho, who, as servants of the god who ruled over the sun's course, must have felt peculiarly bound to bring the measurement of time into harmony with it (pp. 174, 176). The cycle of eight years, with the three intercalary months, presupposes a long experience; such an arrangement of the year could only have been attained when occasional interpolations had long been resorted to. The Delphic year began with the summer solstice,[2] and fell behind in regard to the next solstice, until, after these intercalations in the course of eight years, it again coincided with the summer solstice. The older *Odyssey* already represents Minos as receiving revelations from Zeus in every eighth year; in every eighth year Minos received his tribute from the Athenians; Cadmus served Ares, as an atonement for the destruction of the dragon,[3] eight years; and Apollo himself served King Admetus of Pheræ for eight years.[4]

[1] Bœckh, *Mondcyclen*, p. 10, 17 ff. The Daphnephoria also at Thebes have the octennial cycle; Pausan. 9, 10, 4.

[2] Kirchhoff, *Monatsber. der Berl. Acad.* 1864, p. 132; *ibid.* p. 129, the fixing of September for Bucatius; cf. *C.I.G.* No. 1688.

[3] *Odyss.* 19, 178; Plat. *Laws*, p. 625; *Minos*, p. 319.

[4] *Schol.* Eurip. *Alc.* 1.

Stained with the blood of the dragon which he had slain in the cavern, the god had fled, had become a servant in expiation, and after the lapse of the great year, when the blood had been atoned for by this service, and purification had followed, he had returned adorned with laurel to Pytho, in order here to proclaim, "as the true Phœbus,"[1] the pure ordinances (θέμιστες) of Zeus. The boy who represented the god at the feast celebrated every eighth year at Pytho had to fly, wander about and become a servant, until he had been purified in Tempe, and bringing thence a laurel-bough, returned by the sacred way—*i.e.* the road taken by the embassies to the festival, the pilgrims from Thessaly, the valley of the Spercheus and Locris—to the temple, where he was received with songs of joy. The sacrifice of the Greeks, as we have seen, required the singer; the right song assured the efficacy of the offering; the hymn which praised the god most worthily brought him down to the sacrificial feast, and inclined him favourably to the worshippers. From this belief, from the effort to win over the god by the best invocation, rival songs of the hymn-singers at the sacrifice early became customary among the Greeks (p. 146). There is no doubt, therefore, that at the great sacrifice at Pytho this rivalry of song, the competitive praise of the hymns, had resounded from remote antiquity. A mythical singer, Chrysothemis of Crete, the son of Carmanor, who purified Apollo from the blood of the dragon, is said to have borne away from hence the first victory with his hymn.[2] According to the mythus expressed in the use of this festival, the god had in himself accomplished the atonement for

[1] Φοῖβος ἀληθῶς, Plut. *De Def. Oracul.* 21.
[2] Pausan. 10, 7, 2.

the murder; in order to cleanse himself from blood lawfully shed he had even performed menial service; through his own deed the pure god had overcome impurity in himself; all the more must such atonement have been required and rendered by all murderers and slayers, all who had stained themselves with blood. The customs of the octennial feast were well calculated to impress upon the Hellenes the duty of expiation for murder.

In the Homeric poems the murderers flee out of the land before the vengeance of the relatives of the slain person. This may indeed have been generally the case in the disturbed times of the migrations and conquests. According to the priestly view, which maintains and revives ancient Arian notions, the man who had shed blood, rightly or wrongly, by design or accident, had brought on himself the worst of all pollutions; he had defiled not only himself but his country and his race, had deprived them of the protection of the bright and pure gods, and had given to the dark powers of the underworld and of death power over his home; he himself has fallen under the sway of the dark spirits, the swiftly-moving Erinnyes (p. 188), who will drag him down to them in the night of horror. The blood stain, which transfers its impurity to all that he touches, must be eradicated from his home, and from his race and family, if the unpurified land is not to fall beneath the anger of the gods. The slayer must be banished, if he does not banish himself. In the polluted land he cannot be purified; but in foreign countries the blood cleaving to his hands can be taken from him, and the murderer can be washed clean, at any rate corporeally, from these blood spots. Here the purification might be accomplished by any one

who was inclined to grant the request of the murderer. The purifier offers a sucking-pig, which he kills by cutting its throat, and lets the blood run from the wound over the hands of the murderer, whereby Zeus, who gives purity, and is softened by the prayer of the guilty man (Zeus Catharsius, and Meilichius), is invoked. Then the hands of the murderer are washed with consecrated water,—that is, with water which has been stained with blood and laid aside in a special place; sacrificial cakes and other expiatory offerings are burned—libations of water and milk are poured out to Zeus amidst prayer that he would restrain the swift-avenging spirits, the restlessly-pursuing Erinnyes, and be gracious to the guilt-laden man. The stained garments and weapons were thrown into the sea or buried. Only after this purification could the murderer have intercourse again with others without polluting them with his guilt. If the expulsion of the guilty man sufficed to secure the land from farther stain, the murderer had, by his exile, taken upon himself a penalty which was calculated to propitiate the gods and to avert the power which the Erinnyes possess over him. Only the banishment must last a long time; and the gods, as well as the soul of the murdered, would be better appeased if the murderer in exile would take on himself, besides, voluntary penances. Lastly, the murderer had to seek reconciliation with the kindred of his victim. Only when he had done this could he venture to return to his fatherland. Here he had to perform the final expiation: the murderer had to tread with his left foot on the hide of a sacrificed ram; in that position he received purification. Then for the liberation of the murderer's soul a sacrifice of black animals was offered to the infernal gods,

and libations were poured into rifts or caves for the soul of the slain.[1]

The importance of Delphi after the end of the ninth century extended not merely to the arrangement of the royal succession in Thessaly and the regulation of the Dorian states on the Eurotas; the stress which the mythus and cult of Delphi laid on the expiation for murder in any case must have contributed to produce a great dread of bloody deeds, which in the stormy times of the migrations and settlements might have sensibly decreased, and to the diminution of violent crimes. Traces of such an influence are perceptible from the first half of the eighth century. Arctinus of Miletus about the middle of that century sang of the flight of Achilles to Lesbos from the camp before Ilium after he had slain Thersites, and of his purification on that island by Odysseus;[2] and if the legend represents Apollo as sending Orestes from Delphi to Athens to appear before the Areopagus, and then averting the judgment of the Areopagus on him as a matricide; if the proceedings in the criminal court of Attica correspond with the ritual of Delphi; if here, in Attica, with these regulations, the presidency of the king in the criminal court is strictly maintained, even after the monarchy has fallen—the result of all this is that the decrees of Delphi concerning atonements for murder were adopted in Attica, and also that they must have been in force there before the year 750 B.C.[3]

[1] O. Müller, *Æschylos Eumeniden*, p. 114 ff.

[2] Phot. *Biblioth. Cod.* 239.

[3] *Supra*, pp. 241, 245. According to the legend, Apollo himself cleanses Orestes (after the acquittal before the Areopagus) at his altar at Delphi, in the prescribed manner, by letting the blood of the offered sucking-pig run over his hands, and sprinkling him with the atoning branch of his laurel.

Nor was the oracle of Pytho without influence on the Greek measurement of time. The sun, the course of which determined periods, belonged to Apollo, the god of light. The great year, the octennial intercalary period; which the priests of Apollo in Delphi had invented, was, in the first half of the eighth century, also the basis for determining the date of the recurrence of the sacrifice offered by the Eleans, Messenians, and Achæans in common, ever since the year 776 B.C., to Zeus and Hera on the Alpheus at Olympia. When Attica had entered the community of the Amphictyons, her representatives had to preside in the Council over the arrangement of the Calendar.[1] Accordingly, Solon of Athens fixed the beginning of the year, and the three intercalary months, after the Delphic pattern, and an Attic inscription from the middle of the fifth century tells us that Athens was then enquiring at Delphi about an intercalary month.

[1] Arist. *Nub.* 609, 622-625.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BŒOTIANS.

DRIVEN out from their ancient abodes on the southern affluents of the Peneus, and from "Arne," by the Thessalians, the Arnæans travelled south, across Mount Othrys and Mount Oeta, and, pushing forward into the valley of the Cephisus, arrived in the territory of the Minyæ of Orchomenus. Here they at first settled themselves in Chæronea and Coronea at the foot of Mount Laphystium.[1] This tradition is confirmed by the fact that we find in Coronea a temple of Athena-Itonia, a title derived from the Thessalian Iton (on the Curalius, an affluent of the Peneus), a place in the old home of the Arnæans; the name of the river of Iton, also the Curalius, was transferred in the new home to a stream flowing into the lake of Copais. The founding of the temple of Athena-Itonia and the naming of the Curalius are expressly ascribed to the immigrants. From Chæronea and Coronea they attacked Orchomenus, which after the expulsion of the Phœnicians had attained supremacy over the Cadmeans and over Thebes, and assumed a

[1] Thucyd. 1, 12; Strabo, p. 411. Plutarch, who is here the authority, expressly bears testimony to the first colony at Chæronea (*Cimon*. 1; similarly Pausanias, 9, 40, 5). The Bœotian Arne, however, is merely an invention, taken from the catalogue of ships, and must therefore have been swallowed up by the Copais; but it is possible that Chæronea may have been at first called Arne by the immigrants.

predominant position in the lake-basin of Bœotia; at last they conquered the city, and from thence penetrated farther to the east, towards Thebes. The Minyæ and Cadmeans fled across Mount Cithæron to Attica, and sought refuge, some in Lemnos, some at the mouth of the Eurotas; again driven out from hence by the pressure of the Dorians of Sparta, this portion of the Minyæ at length found abiding homes on the west coast of the Peloponnesus in Triphylia and on the island of Thera.

Pausanias tells us that the Bœotians, like all the Hellenes in ancient times, were governed by kings.[1] Plutarch says: King Opheltas led the people who were subject to him from Thessaly and Bœotia; at his side was the seer Peripoltas. The descendants of Opheltas (the Opheltiadæ) continued to be the most renowned tribe in Bœotia, the posterity of Peripoltas dwelt in Chæronea, and this famous race flourished here, *i.e.* in the territory first conquered from the Arnæans down to a late period.[2] Damasichthon, the son of Opheltas, became king of Thebes; this no doubt signifies the conquest of Thebes by the immigrants, which took place in the second generation. Damasichthon was succeeded on the throne of Thebes by Ptolemæus, and Ptolemæus by Xanthus, who, pressing southwards across Mount Cithæron, was killed in single combat with Melanthus, who had accepted the challenge of Xanthus in place of Thymætas, king of the Athenians (p. 242). We may infer from this

[1] Paus. 9, 1, 2.

[2] Plut. *Cimon.* 1; *De sera numin. vind.* 13. The coupling of Opheltas with Peneleus, the leader of the Bœotians at the Trojan War (Pausan. 9, 5, 16), is evidently an invention; the choice of Damasichthon as king by the Thebans, takes the place of the conquest of Thebes by the Arnæans.

tradition that the descendants of Opheltas, when the Cadmeans had been conquered, had made the old fortified city of Thebes their residence: the Thebans afterwards maintained that they had subjugated Bœotia and founded the other cities, and lastly Platæa.[1] It may be that the conquest of Thebes took place in the second generation after the arrival of the Arnæans, after the taking of Chæronea and Coronea under King Damasichthon; that the conquest of the surrounding territory was completed in the third generation; and that in the fourth, under King Xanthus, it touched the limit. The march of conquest may no doubt have led the Arnæans over Mount Cithæron (according to Attic tradition, the possession of Oenoë or Melænæ was in question), but the successful resistance of the people of Attica made Mount Cithæron the permanent boundary.

The land of the Minyæ and Cadmeans which the Arnæans had conquered, and which now, belonging to one tribe, was called Bœotia, did not continue united under the dominion of the Opheltiadæ; on the newly-acquired territory there grew up twelve or fifteen communities, over which the royal house of Thebes maintained scarcely more than an honorary supremacy and the right of offering the common sacrifice.[2] When the ancient Orchomenus had fallen, Thebes became under the new rulers the most powerful and important city of the land. This circumstance, together with the pre-eminence of the princes of Thebes, maintained a certain unity among the immigrants. Orchomenus and Thespiæ, as far as we

[1] Thucyd. 3, 61, 66.

[2] So much may be inferred from the subsequent position of Thebes, and from the consideration in which the Opheltiades were held, even at a much later dater date, throughout all Bœotia.

can see, could only lay claim, at the most, to a greater comparative importance in respect to Thebes; Coronea, Chæronea, Tanagra, Platæa, were regarded as inferior. But even the new Thebes and the new Orchomenus were far from attaining the status and power of the ancient cities on which they had grown up; of whose greatness they had evidence in the mighty sepulchres of the kings of the Minyæ, in the old walls, in the seven gates of Thebes. The unity of the tribe which now ruled in the land, the remembrance of the common conquest of the country, the consciousness of inter-dependence, found their expression in common sacrifices which the town of Bœotia offered to the goddess of their old home, Athena-Itonia, in the temple at Coronea. Though the immigrants thus maintained their ancient worship, they would not, after the manner of the Greeks in a new country, have felt themselves secure if they had not tried to gain the favour of the tutelary spirits of that country. The new commonwealth of Orchomenus was admitted into the sacrificial community of the maritime city of Calauria, to which the ancient Orchomenus had belonged; in honour of the Charites, the deities of spring, it celebrated the Charitesia, a feast essentially agrarian in character, which can hardly owe its origin to the victorious warriors of the new Orchomenus; and the feast of the Agrionia—in which a woman of the old population, of the tribe of the Minyæ, of the family of Minyas, the royal house of the Minyæ, was offered as a sacrifice when she was captured—has sufficient internal evidence to show that it was derived from an older time.[1] It was a remnant of the Phœnician worship of the devouring god. The new common-

[1] *C.I.G.* No. 1584; *supra*, p. 74.

wealth of Thebes worshipped Harmonia, daughter of Ares and Aphrodite, *i.e.* the Syrian goddess placed beside Melkarth[1] as protectress of the ancient citadel: Thebes continued the chief seat of the worship of Heracles, which the Cadmeans had learned from the Phœnicians. If the transformation of Melkarth into the hero Heracles had begun when Orchomenus had attained pre-eminence over the Cadmea, when the Phœnicians had been driven out, and when the Cadmeans had become Greeks, the new masters of Thebes, the Arnæans, must have completed this transformation. We only hear indeed that they offered sacrifices to Heracles and Iolaus, and held wrestling matches on these occasions. Of the history of Thebes at this period we know nothing except that the Ægidæ, a noble family of that city, claiming descent from Cadmus, about the year 800 B.C., marched from thence to the Dorians of the Eurotas valley; that the head of this family rendered the Dorians there good service in war, and organised their army (ch. 10).

The immigrants, the conquerors of the Minyæ and Cadmeans, were the nobility of the new dominion; they had divided among them the best portions of the rich pastures and meadows: the herds, to which this pasture land gave abundant support, constituted the most essential part of the new lords' possessions. In Bœotia the ancient population was not wholly driven out, nor were those who remained degraded into slaves. Certain families of them may even have found admittance into the ruling class, since, in Plutarch's time, there was a family in Orchomenus said to be descended from Minyas, the tribal ancestor of the Minyæ; and we find, not only in Thebes, but also in Thespiæ,

[1] *Schol. Pind. Olymp.* 7, 153.

families tracing their descent to Cadmus and Heracles.[1] A class of slaves, attached to the soil, like that of the Penestæ in Thessaly and the Gymnetes and Helots in the conquered land of the Peloponnesus, we do not find in Bœotia. The pastures, so far as they were not taken possession of by the new masters, remained in the hands of the survivors of the old population. Obedient to the commands and jurisdiction of the new princes—their new masters—this remnant gradually became one people with their conquerors. On the broad territory which these conquerors had won there flourished a noble life and noble characters. The new lords had leisure to practise themselves in arms and in activity of body—their pastures supported excellent horses in addition to flocks and herds. The importance of the warriors, now the ruling class—the nobility of the new commonwealth, asserted itself even in opposition to the princes. The communities of the Bœotians participated in the common sacrifice at the temple of Demeter, at Thermopylæ; a league to which their fathers in their ancient abodes at Arne had belonged; or else were allowed to join in it at the renewal of the sacrifice before the middle of the eighth century: they took part in the transference of this assembly to the sacrifice at Delphi (before 700 B.C.); and when the sacrifice which the Eleans had at first brought in conjunction with the Messenians and Achæans to Olympia, to Zeus and Hera, embraced not only the Peloponnesians, but also the Athenians, the Bœotians likewise joined this community. It was a Theban noble who, at the first chariot-race in Olympia, in the year 680 B.C., gained the prize with his team of four horses.[2]

On the conditions of life which prevailed in Bœotia

[1] Diodor. 4, 29. [2] Pausan. 5, 8, 3.

in the first half of the eighth century in the lower strata of the population, among the peasants who could keep a yoke of oxen, a man, and a maid, a poem of this date throws a welcome gleam of light.[1] We find from this that people from the towns of the Achæans, in Asia, who had not sufficient to maintain themselves there, wandered back to their mother country. One of these, a man of Cyme, found admittance into the district of Ascra, belonging to the territory of Thespiæ, and thus acquired a peasant's property. After his death his two sons divided the inheritance; one was not contented with the portion that fell to him; he went to law against his brother, and the decision of the judge was on his side. The brother accuses "the kings" of having given an unrighteous sentence, and of having been bribed by the opponent. They behaved like the falcon which carried off the nightingale in his talons, and when she complained told her that he was the stronger.[2] He earnestly warns kings of the punishment which Zeus exacts for unrighteous sentences and the perversion of justice. The people must suffer for the wickedness of the king who acts unjustly: hunger and pestilence will come, Zeus will destroy the army in battle, the walls of the town, and the ships on the sea: houses will fall into decay, and women will bear children no longer.[3] Of such penalties kings must be mindful. When justice is rightly awarded to natives and foreigners, then the city flourishes, and the people in it, and peace nurtures a goodly race. Hunger comes not to such a city; the ground bears fruit abundantly; on the mountains the oak-tree above gives acorns; in the centre it is full

[1] Concerning the date of Hesiod, and further particulars, *vide infra*, ch. 13. [2] *Opp.* 203 ff. [3] *Loc. cit.* 220, 242 ff.

of bees; the sheep have thick and white wool; the women bear children who resemble their fathers: they do not need to wander over the sea, for the earth brings them rich sustenance.[1] "Bearing this in mind, ye kings, ye gift-eaters, declare just sentences, and for the future purpose no longer to give crooked judgment."[2]

To his brother who desires to punish him with a new law-suit the threatened man replies that he desires to wage with him a better strife, not like that induced by the envy of potter against potter, carpenter against carpenter, minstrel against minstrel,[3] but the conflict of work. He teaches him how the ground is to be managed; when the seed is to be sown and the harvest brought in; how the men and maids are to be kept, if the work is to be remunerative, and hunger and poverty are to remain afar off. Labour is not a disgrace, but idleness is so. Even in the winter a man ought not to sit idle in his smithy or in his house.[4] It is evident that the peasant at that time had to maintain himself, and to bestir himself seriously if he desired to exist; and that those to whom the ground was not remunerative, or who were without landed possessions, sought their living on the sea.

[1] *Loc. cit.* 248.
[2] *Loc. cit.* 225 ff.
[3] *Loc. cit.* 25.
[4] *Loc. cit.* 491, 501.

CHAPTER VII.

ARGOS AND THE COLONIES OF THE DORIANS.

ARGOS was not the first territory in which, so far as tradition enables us to see, the Dorians settled themselves in the Peloponnesus; only when Dorian emigrants had planted their colonies in the south, in Messenia, on the upper Eurotas, on the Oenus, and in Cynuria, was Argos attacked and taken. But, though the commonwealth which grew up there was a later settlement, it became the most powerful and important of those which the immigrants founded on the island of Pelops. Dorian Argos unquestionably assumed a predominant position from the middle of the tenth until after the middle of the eighth century. The interpolation of Heracles into the succession of the Persidæ must have taken place in Argos; the legend of the descent of the Dorian princes from Heracles, of the division among the three brothers, sons of Aristomachus, must here have been formed; it is the kings of Argos who claim and are accredited with descent from the first-born of Aristomachus (p. 216). Moreover, it is said to have been the sons and grandsons of Temenus who, departing from Argos, conquered and made Dorian the cities of the Ionians on the north coast. We find the princes of Argos in possession of a considerable territory, at the head of a federation which embraces the whole north-east of the Peloponnesus.

Argos likewise has multifarious relations with islands in the Ægean Sea; it is not only in arms and navigation, but also in the paths of culture, that she is foremost of all the cantons of the peninsula in these centuries.

The enfeeblement which Argos afterwards underwent through long and severe conflicts, the loss of her supremacy and leadership in the Peloponnesus, was also prejudicial to the tradition of the country. Only the most meagre fragments of the legend of Argos have remained to us. King Temenus, as the story has already told us, succumbed to the murderers hired by his sons, who were jealous and anxious about the favour shown by Temenus to Deïphontes, the husband of his daughter (p. 220). His burial-place, in that citadel on the strand from which he had fought and conquered the Achæans of Argos, was honoured by the Argives. His successor, Ceisus, the eldest of his sons, is called by tradition the real founder of Argos:[1] it was in his time that Deiphontes is said to have conquered Epidaurus, and the island of Ægina; that the younger brothers of Ceisus, Phalces and Ægæus, conquered Sicyon and Trœzen; and the son of Phalces, Phlius. When Medon, son of Ceisus, was king at Argos, the expedition of the Dorians of Argos and Corinth is said to have occurred, which was rendered abortive by the death of Codrus, and only brought the territory of Megara under the sway of the Dorians of Corinth (p. 252). Medon was succeeded in the dominion of Argos by Thestius, Merops, and Aristodamidas.[2]

[1] Strabo, p. 481.

[2] Diodorus and Theopompus ap. Syncellum, p. 499. Bonn. Satyrus (*Fragm.* 21, Muller) has Maron instead of Medon, and Acous instead of Merops. Unger (*Philolog.* 26, p. 369) identifies this Acous with that Acues (Polyæn. 1, 11) who expelled the Spartans from the

The best lands and pastures on the Inachus were taken possession of by the Dorian conquerors. The abode of the princes and of this new class of rulers was not the citadel of Mycenæ, but the older citadel, the Argive Larisa. Not all the Achæans had deserted the city and territory of Argos before the conquerors. We find in Argos, together with the three Dorian tribes, a fourth, which has equal rights with them, the tribe of the Hyrnatheans.[1] Though tradition assigns to it as an ancestress Hyrnetho the daughter of Temenus, we may infer from the existence of this race that noble families of the Achæans had been received into the new Doric commonwealth. The greater part of the Achæans who had remained in the country retained their freedom and property, with local authority.[2] These small proprietors, in other districts generally called Periœci, *i.e.* dwelling around, are named in Argos Orneatæ, probably because the territory of Orneæ (north from Argos, on the road to Phlius) was first brought into this status. Side by side with the commonwealth of Orneæ, and in the same position, were the commonwealths of Hysiæ and Midea, and the Cynurians, inhabitants of the coast south of the Bay of Argos. Herodotus tells us that the Cynurians

already conquered Tegea. In that case, indeed, *ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀργείων* must be altered to *ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων*. This combination might be further supported by placing this event in the war of Charilaus against Tegea (*infra*, ch. 9); Acues was the fifth after Temenus, Charilaus the fifth after Eurypon, inclusive of both. Though Busolt (*Laked.* p. 100) refers the fragment of Diodorus (*De Insidiis*, 5; Ed. Muller) to this war of Charilaus, yet in this war there was no question either of the Argives or of the taking of Tegea, consequently it seems necessary to place Acues of Argos in the time of the battle of Hysiæ which the Spartans, with Tegea in their rear, fought against Argos (*infra*, Book 3, ch. 5).

[1] *C.I.G.* 1130; Plut. *Mulier. Virtut.* 4; Steph. Byz. Δυμᾶν.

[2] Isocrat. *Panath.* 177.

became Doricised under the rule of Argos.[1] Subject to Argos, but in a more independent position, there were also the cities of the Dryopes, who had once fled before the Dorians when the Dorians settled on Mount Oeta, and had established themselves at Asine and Hermione on the south coast of the peninsula of Argos. They were now again subject to Dorians. The Achæans also, in the former colony of the Phœnicians at Nauplia, maintained a freer position. Nauplia kept its place in the common sacrifice at Calauria, to which the new Doric commonwealths of Epidaurus, Trœzen, Ægina, and Prasiæ were admitted to represent these previously Ionic cities. The Achæans of Mycenæ and Tiryns assumed likewise, it would seem, a place of pre-eminence among the communities of the Periœci; it is possible that they were apportioned to the fourth tribe, that of Hyrnetho.[2] The hardest fate befell the Achæans on those lands of which the Dorians had taken possession for themselves. They became slaves of the soil and bondmen to the new proprietors. In Argos they were distinguished by the name of Gymnetes or Gymnesians.[3]

Herodotus describes the extent of the territory of Argos in the following words: "The land to the west (of the city of Argos) belonged to the Argives as far down as Malea (*i.e.* the whole east coast of the Peloponnesus, as far as its southern point, and the island of Cythera and the other islands." On this east coast were the Cynurians, and the cities of Prasiæ, Zarex, and Bœæ, occupied by the Dorians, and the southern Epidaurus, a colony of the northern Epidaurus. But

[1] Herod. 8, 73. If Orneæ was afterwards reckoned among the σύμμαχοι of Argos (Thucyd. 5, 67), it must have gained its freedom, like Mycenæ and Tiryns, after the battle of Sepea.

[2] Busolt, *Laked.* p. 67 ff.

[3] Steph. Byz. Χῖος; Pollux, 3, 83.

what does Herodotus mean by "the other islands"? Does he mean those lying near the coast—Ægina, Calauria, Hydrea?—or are we to associate with Cythera other more distant islands?[1]

This extension of their territory placed the kings of Argos at the head of a sacrificial league, a federation. It embraced the towns which the Dorians of Argos had founded, or were said to have founded—Sicyon, Phlius, Cleonæ, Trœzen, the northern and southern Epidaurus, Prasiæ, Bœæ, and the island of Ægina. Under the leadership of the kings of Argos these places brought common offerings to Apollo Pythæus, whose temple stood beneath the Larisa of Argos.[2] We do not know how far back this community carries its existence; we see only that it must have existed in the first half of the eighth century; but we know from the ordinances which united it that none of the confederates made war upon the others, that none might support the attack of a non-confederate upon them, and that it was the duty of the princes of Argos to impose a penalty upon any confederates who thus transgressed.

The Dorians who had migrated to Argos and settled there were not all satisfied with the lot that had befallen them. The desire for warlike expeditions and adventures which had been formerly awakened, and was kept alive by tedious conflicts, drove them farther. Unsatisfied with the rich spoil which they had gained on the island of Pelops, some of them followed the movement out of the peninsula, to which they themselves had given the impetus. After the precedent of the Achæans and Ionians, they ventured

[1] Thucyd. 1, 9; νῆσοι περιοικίδες, Herod. 1, 82.
[2] Pausan. 2, 23, 8.

of this oracle received by the Phœnicians. By means of an ambush he gained possession of Larcus, a trusted friend of Phalanthus who had gone out to fetch water, won him over, put freshly-caught fishes into his vessel, and told him to pour this water into the vessel in which wine was mingled for Phalanthus. Then Iphiclus had some ravens captured, covered with plaster, and again set free. Phalanthus beheld the white ravens with astonishment, and when he turned to his drinking-cup he perceived the fish. Then he was convinced that he could no longer possess the land, and sent to tell Iphiclus that he was ready to evacuate the fortress with his followers, if he were allowed to withdraw in safety. It was agreed that Phalanthus and his people should freely depart with all that they had in their stomachs, and that Iphiclus should provide things for their voyage. This was confirmed by oath. Phalanthus had beasts slain for sacrifices, their intestines taken out, and gold and silver put inside them instead. When Iphiclus became aware of this stratagem, he declared that on his side ships would be prepared, but without helm, masts, or rudder; his oath applied only to ships. Then the Phœnicians yielded, buried most of their treasures, and marked the place so that they should know it again and be able to fetch them, but left also much treasure to Iphiclus. Thus the Phœnicians were driven out, and the Hellenes became lords of the country. In Polyzelus there is a still more romantic version of this legend. Only Phacas the Phœnician, and his daughter Dorcia, know of the oracle which Phalanthus has received. Dorcia falls in love with Iphiclus, communicates with him through her nurse, and receives a promise that she shall be his wife. She it was who persuaded the water-bearer to

put fishes into the wine-vessel, and let fly the ravens smeared with white.[1]

The long resistance of the Phœnicians, which the legend seeks to explain, is not an invention, nor ought we absolutely to discard the idea that treaties may have been concluded between the new settlers in Rhodes and the Phœnicians. Diodorus, following Zeno of Rhodes, assures us that in the community of Ialysus, Phœnicians had been admitted to equal rights, and that priests from the Phœnician families had inherited the charge of the sacred services.[2] The worship of Zeus on the summit of Atabyris, under the form of a bull, *i.e.* of Baal-Moloch,[3] the human sacrifices which were offered here;[4] the worship of Helios,[5] *i.e.* of Baal-Ṡamin, as the tutelary god of the island, whose head, surrounded by rays, the coins of Rhodes afterwards bore; and that of his seven sons; of Heracles, to whom bulls were sacrificed, *i.e.* of Baal-Melkarth; of Asclepius,[6] *i.e.* the Eshmun of the Phœnicians—all these not only show how firmly these cults of the Phœnicians were rooted here, but force us to the conclusion that Phœnicians in no inconsiderable number had remained behind in Rhodes. Even in later times we find there sacrificial communities of Atabyriastæ, Asclepiastæ, and Adoniastæ, *i.e.* worshippers of Adonis.[7]

[1] Athenæus, p. 360.
[2] Diod. 5, 58.
[3] Isigon. *Fragm.* 4, Ed. Muller; *Schol.* Pind. *Olymp.* 7, 260.
[4] Porphyrius (*De abstin.* 2, 54) ascribes these to Cronos; cf. Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* 4, 16.
[5] Pind. *Olymp.* 7, 14; Ἀελίοιό τε νύμφα Ῥόδος; 7, 70 ff; Conon, *Narrat.* 47.
[6] Pausan. 7, 23, 6; Lactant. 1, 21; Diod. 19, 45. This worship likewise came from Rhodes to Acragas; Polyb. 1, 18, 2.
[7] Ross, *Inscript. Græc.* 3, p. 34; *Revue Archeolog.* 1864, vol. 10, p. 473.

reducing Karath, the most important town on the island, situated in a great plain to the north-east, not far from the coast; in Greek legend the abode of Minos, in the Homeric poems the town with the buildings of Dædalus; it now received the name of Cnossus.[1] To explain the striking fact of the success of the Greek colony, Herodotus quotes the following from Cretan *tradition:* The *Cretans, in order to* avenge the death of Minos, went in great numbers to Sicily; after they had in vain besieged Camicus, a storm had cast them on the Iapygian coast and destroyed their ships; thus they were constrained to found a settlement, and after the Trojan period man and beast had died of hunger and pestilence, so that Crete had afterwards to be peopled entirely anew.[2]

Althæmenes, as the legend relates, did not remain on Crete; with part of his people he sailed farther to the east. The ancient colony of the Phœnicians on the island of Rhodes inhabited by Carians, we have already spoken of. We found there the worship of the sun-god and his seven children, *i.e.* the eight great gods of the Phœnicians,—the worship of Melkarth-Macar; *here Cadmus landed; here* at Ialysus he founded a temple and appointed Phœnicians to serve it; he also left behind him a votive offering with a Phœnician inscription at Lindus.[3] We have further evidence of the dominion of the Phœnicians at Rhodes

[1] The foremost place which Cnossus occupies among the cities of Crete in the Homeric poems, and the fixing of Idomeneus, the first Greek prince and grandson of Minos in Crete, at Cnossus (he was worshipped there; *Diodor.* 5, 79), point to *Cnossus as the first settlement* of the Greeks on the island; hence it follows that the founding of Gortyn and Lyctus was ascribed to Pollis, *i.e.* to the emigration of the Achæans after the fall of Amyclæ.

[2] Herod. 7, 170, 171.

[3] Diod. 5, 56.

in the name Atabyris, borne by the highest peak of the island (over 4500 feet high); this is the Greek modification of the Semitic Tabor, *i.e.* height: also in the mythical population, which the tradition of the Greeks assigns to this island, the artistic craftsmen, the "Telchines:" and lastly, in the very characteristic phases of the Phœnician worship which have been preserved in Rhodes.[1] The Doric strangers, led by Althæmenes, overcame the Carians on the island, so we are informed by Conon.[2] Other accounts show that the Phœnicians did not lightly surrender a territory like Rhodes, lying so far to the eastward, an island on which they had long been established, the forests and products of which, in wine, figs and oil, honey and wax, were of great service to them. Ergius, the Rhodian, in the history of his native place, tells us that Phalanthus the Phœnician occupied in the territory of Ialysus (in the north of the island) a very strong citadel, with an abundant store of provisions, so that the Phœnicians long withstood the Greeks, who besieged them under the command of Iphiclus. Moreover, the Phœnicians had received a divine oracle to the effect that the land should remain with them till the ravens became white, and fishes appeared in the wine-vessel, and as they hoped that neither one nor the other would happen, they carried on the war without fear. Iphiclus heard

[1] The name of the city of Camirus is probably derived from Chamirah, *i.e.* rich in clay; Schneiderwirth, *Rhodos*, N. 4.

[2] Strabo, pp. 479, 481, 653; Con. *Narrat.* 47. The Greek legend of the early colonisation of Rhodes by Tlepolemus is of as little importance as that of Crete by Tectaphus, son of Dorus; or that of Cos by the Heraclidæ, Pheidippus, and Antiphus; or that of Cyprus by Teucer of Salamis. Nor can Althæmenes be regarded as Oekist of Rhodes, inasmuch as he founded the worship of Zeus Atabyrius, and is called a son of Catreus and a grandson of Minos. From this it would rather follow that by Althæmenes the Phœnician colonisation of Rhodes is meant (Diod. 5, 59; Apollod. 3, 2, 2).

The new masters of Rhodes had founded three commonwealths in the island, which stood side by side with equal rights. Their Dorian origin is beyond a doubt. Not only was Althæmenes worshipped as Oekist, but Pindar thus speaks of the Rhodians: "At the extreme point of vast Asia they occupied the island of the three cities (Lindus, Ialysus, and Camirus) with the Argive spear."[1] Thucydides too describes them as Dorians.[2] And Aristides the rhetorician thus appeals to the Rhodians: "Are you not Dorians from the Peloponnesus from all antiquity, were not your chiefs and kings Heraclidæ and Asclepiadæ?"[3] In the oldest inscriptions which we possess from Rhodes the letters indeed do not agree with the original alphabet which emanated from the Dorians of Cnossus (ch. 11), but they do agree with the Cretic alphabet as developed at Argos: they prove, like the later legends of the coins of the island, not only the Doric dialect of its inhabitants, but also closer interdependence with Argos.[4] It is more difficult to fix the time of the settlement in Crete and Rhodes of the Dorian emigrants from Argos. The migration of Althæmenes is placed in the same epoch as the Ionian settlement in Asia.[5] As Rhodes must have been colonised before Greek emigrants could have settled in Cyprus in the midst of the Phœnicians and opposite the Phœnician coasts, and the first settlements of the Greeks at Cyprus, as will appear later on, cannot be placed later than the middle of the ninth century B.C., it is impossible to assign to the settlement of Crete and Rhodes a later date than 900 B.C. Strabo

[1] Pind. *Olymp.* 7, 18, 19. [2] 7, 57. [3] Aristid. 1, 839 D.
[4] Kirchhoff, *Studien zu Griech. Alphabet.*[3] pp. 39, 42-43; Suet. *Tib.* 56
[5] Conon, *Narrat.* 47.

tells us that the Rhodians had already undertaken distant voyages before the celebration of the Olympic games.[1]

At the head of the three cities of Rhodes were princes. The princely family of Ialysus traced its genealogy to Tlepolemus, the son of Heracles, who according to this must have already conquered Rhodes. From a more recent ancestor, Eratus, the family bears the name of Eratidæ. We have heard of Iphiclus the conqueror of Ialysus in the series of the kings of that city. Callianax and Damagetus are also mentioned; the latter is said to have married the daughter of Aristomenes the Messenian, and in that case must have reigned in Ialysus about the middle of the seventh century.[2] We have still less information about the princes of Lindus and Camirus. If Aristides represents Asclepiadæ as reigning in Rhodes, their abode must have been Lindus or Camirus. The name denotes descendants of Asclepius; it favours the supposition that this, if it were not a Grecised Phœnician family, was a Greek race which had taken Asclepius as its tribal ancestor. That Greek and Phœnician life were intermingled in Rhodes is proved not only by the number of Phœnician cults but also by the Greek legend which represents Iphiclus as marrying the daughter of Phalanthus, the Phœnician prince.

The islands, and the coasts of Asia Minor, in the neighbourhood of Rhodes were also occupied by Doric colonists. The settlers, who established themselves

[1] Strabo, p. 654. The date of 900 B.C. given for the settlement of Rhodes would agree with that of Eusebius for the Rhodian Thalassocratia. I do not venture to apply this statement, as I can make nothing of Castor's scheme of the Thalassocratia.

[2] Pausan. 4, 24, 2; Bœckh, *Expl. Pind.* p. 165.

on a little island opposite the south-west corner of Asia Minor, appear to have been Dorians from Argos. The colony spread to the mainland, and became the city of Cnidus.[1] The Cnidians worshipped as the founder of their state Triopas, the son of the sun-god,[2] after whom the promontory near the town, the south-west point of Asia Minor, is called. The Cnidians chiefly worshipped Aphrodite: her temple was said to be the oldest sanctuary in the city.[3] At the extremity of the peninsula, opposite the promontory of Triopium, some of the conquerors and conquered of Trœzen, which Ægæus had made into a Doric state (p. 221), *i.e.* Dorians of the race of Dymanes and ancient Ionian colonists, founded Halicarnassus. Among the Ionian families the Antheadæ were pre-eminent, whose ancestor Anthas is marked not only by tradition, but history, as the founder of their city.[4] The worship of the Isthmian Poseidon, which belongs to the Ionians side by side with that of Apollo whom the Dorians revered as the leader of their migrations, and the continuance of the Ionian dialect in Halicarnassus, show the prominence of the Ionian element in the new colony.[5] We are acquainted with the ancient inscription of Halicarnassus in the copy, made prob-

[1] The Cnidians boasted (Herod. 1, 174) of being descendants of the Lacedæmonians, but the Lacedæmonians could have founded no colonies before they had taken Helus, which only occurred in 770. Melos, Thera, Gortyn, and Lyctus are as little Spartan colonies as Cnidus. Diodorus represents Cnidus as a colony of Argives and Lacedæmonians (5, 53). The supposition of common colonies from Argos and Laconia can hardly be admitted. Sparta was subsequently the foremost Doric state, consequently it was desirable to claim a descent from it. The Demiurges in Cnidus (*C.I.G.* 1, p. 594) indicate an Argive origin.

[2] Diodor. 5, 61; Pausan. 10, 11, 1; *Hymn. in Apoll.* 211, 213.

[3] Pausan. 1, 1, 3.

[4] Strabo, p. 656; Pausan. 2, 30, 9; Herod. 7, 99; Steph. Byz. *sub voce.*

[5] Kirchhoff, *loc. cit.* p. 43, *sqq.*

ably about the second century before Christ, which gives a catalogue of the priests at the temple of the Isthmean Poseidon in their order and with the duration of their offices. The list begins with Telamon, the son of Poseidon, and includes, with the twenty-seven names, a period of five hundred and four years. If we put aside the mythical names, there begins with the seventh name, that of Anthas, the genealogy of the descendants of Anthas the founder, to whom the priesthood of this temple, which is said to have been erected simultaneously with or before the founding of the city, through the instrumentality of Poseidon and Apollo, belonged by inheritance. Anthas and his posterity had therefore presided over the sanctuary for four hundred and fourteen years. As we cannot fix the date of the compilation of this catalogue, there being certainly no written authorities for the first half of the names, it does not help us to find the year of the founding of Halicarnassus, even though the genealogy of the Antheadæ may have been carried on by memory further than the middle of the catalogue.[1] That the Halicarnassians, relying on this catalogue, maintained that their city had been founded in the year 1174 B.C. has been already observed. North of Halicarnassus were Myndus and Iassus on the coast of the mainland, the former founded by the Dorians from Trœzen, and the latter from Argos itself. The Dorians could not maintain Iassus: after a severe defeat which they sustained from the Carians they were obliged to seek help from the Ionians and submit to the dominion of the kings of Miletus.[2]

Opposite the entrance to the deep bay in the west

[1] *Supra*, p. 129; *C.I.G.* No. 2655; and Bœckh's Commentary.
[2] Pausan. 2, 30, 9; Polyb. 16, 12.

coast of Anatolia, on the two projecting promontories of which respectively lay the cities of Cnidus and Halicarnassus, was the island of Cos. Like the two small neighbouring islands, Calydna and Nisyrus, it was probably colonised before the founding of these two cities by the Dorians of Epidaurus, which Deïphontes had conquered (p. 220).[1] If the ancient Ionian inhabitants of Epidaurus had fled to Samos before these Dorians, the conquerors now followed them to the coast of Asia. Asclepius was the tutelary deity of Cos, and his worship then spread from hence to the mother city, Epidaurus. Besides this worship, the worship of Heracles in woman's dress at Cos,[2] the artistic weaving of light transparent garments, the excellent potteries, the preparation of ointments, among the Coans,[3] all show that here also Phœnician and Lydian cults and Phœnician industries were carried on by the Greek settlers.

We cannot fix the date of these settlements of the Dorians of Argos, the Dorians and Ionians of Trœzen, and the Dorians of Epidaurus, in Cnidus, Cos, Halicarnassus, Myndus, and Iassus, later than the colonisation of Rhodes, *i.e.* than the year 900 B.C. If the Dorians and Ionians had already in Trœzen become so closely connected with each other that they could undertake new settlements in common, they must at least have lived peaceably together for half a year; and if the legend represents the Dorians of Iassus as obtaining help from the Ionians of Miletus, the Ionian colonies must have existed before the arrival of the Dorians. The Cnidians had consecrated the promontory of Triopium to Apollo, if indeed, like the Milesians at the Poseideum and the people of Colophon

[1] Herod. 7, 99. [2] Pausan. 2, 26, 3; Plut. *Quæst Græc.* 58.
[3] Plin. *H. N.* 11, 27, 35, 46; Athenæus, p. 688.

at Clarus, they had not already found a sanctuary existing there, dedicated to the Carian god of the sun. To offer common sacrifices in this place to Apollo, a league was formed with the Cnidians, on the one side by Cos and Halicarnassus, on the other by the three towns of Rhodes — Lindus, Ialysus, and Camirus. Competitive games followed the sacrifice. The six cities united in this league would not allow the other Dorians of Myndus, Calydna, and Nisyrus any share in their sacrificial feast. The number of the members indeed diminished. The prize of the victor in the games was in ancient times a brazen tripod; it was the custom not to take this home, but to dedicate it in the sanctuary of Apollo. Once, when Agasicles, a man of Halicarnassus, had taken away with him the tripod which he had won, and the commonwealth of Halicarnassus refused to take the matter up, the five remaining cities agreed to exclude Halicarnassus from the sacrificial league.[1] Dionysius of Halicarnassus relates that the Dorians met together in friendship on the headland of Triopium at the time of the festival, with their wives and children, brought offerings, and celebrated gymnastic, musical, and martial games, and dedicated common gifts to the gods.[2]

Not only did the Greeks take the place of the Phœnicians in Crete and Rhodes; they penetrated still farther to the east, directly to the coast of Syria, and established themselves opposite the ancient harbours of the Phœnicians. We are acquainted with the settlements of the Phœnicians in Cyprus, their oldest colonies, Chittim (Cittium), and Hamath (Amathus),

[1] Herod. 1, 144.

[2] Dionys. *Antiq.* 4, 25. What he adds about their courts of justice for disputes, care of their allies, and declaration of war against the barbarians, is manifestly due to ideal colouring.

on the south-west coast of the island, with the cults of Baal, Adonis, and Astarte-Ashera. Pappa (Paphos), on the west coast, was the most famous seat of the worship of the goddess of birth; Sillumi (Salamis), on the east coast, of that of Baal Moloch. In the beginning of the tenth century before Christ we found this place under the supremacy of Tyre. The tradition of the Greeks runs thus: When Teucer returned to his native island after the taking of Ilium, Telamon forbade him to land, because he had neither hindered nor avenged the death of his brother. Teucer was forced to return to his ships. He led the Salaminians and Athenians who followed him to Cyprus, and here built the city of Salamis. In Virgil, Teucer assists King Belus of Sidon in war, in return for which he presents him with a piece of land on the island on which Teucer then built Salamis.[1] It is an obvious combination of the synonymous names of the island of Salamis and the city Salamis in Cyprus, both of which owed their names to the Phœnicians, and to the relations between Athens and Salamis. The Greek princes who subsequently reigned in Salamis and Cyprus can scarcely have made Teucer their progenitor on any other ground. Teucer must lead Salaminians and Athenians to Salamis, because Athens and Salamis from ancient times were said to be united, and Philæus, the son of Ajax, is supposed to have given Salamis to the Athenians. Moreover, Agapenor, a name belonging to the kingly race of the Arcadian Tegea, on the return from Ilium (before Ilium he is not known to the *Iliad*, but is only mentioned in the catalogue of ships, which makes him

[1] Pind. *Nem.* 4, 47; and the *Scholia*, *Schol. Æschyl. Pers.* 873. Pausan. 2, 29, 4; 8, 15, 3. Justin 45, 3.

march against Troy with sixty ships lent by Agamemnon[1]), is said to have been driven to Cyprus by a storm; he here founds Paphos, and the temple of Aphrodite,[2] a labour which he could as little have taken on himself as Teucer the building of Salamis on Cyprus. Herodotus calls the Greeks in Cyprus settlers from Athens and Salamis, settlers of the Arcadians, and emigrants from Cythnus. Curium on the south coast, between Paphos and Amathus, was founded by the Argives.[3] We may suppose that they were Dorians from the island of Rhodes, in which the emigrants from Argos had built their cities (p. 330), and afterwards emigrants from Crete, who first ventured to invade Cyprus. Emigrants from the Ionian colonies in the islands, and in Asia, and emigrants from the Peloponnesus, may have followed them hither.

The Greeks must, therefore, have settled in Cyprus at a very early date. Greek inscriptions from that island present very ancient forms of speech, which sometimes approximate to a Cretic-Dorian, sometimes to the Dorian, but chiefly to the Æolic-Arcadian dialect.[4] In the Homeric poems the worship of Aphrodite, *i.e.* of Ashera, in Cyprus is familiar: the goddess is very commonly called in these poems by the name of the Cyprian deity. The later *Odyssey* makes Aphrodite hasten to Paphos, where "a sacred grove and a fragrant altar" belong to her.[5] Other circumstances also indicate the antiquity of the Greek settlements in Cyprus. The Greek colonists in Crete became acquainted with the Phœnician alphabet, and

[1] *Il.* 2, 609, *sqq.* [2] Pausan. 8, 5, 2, 3; Strabo, p. 683.
[3] Herod. 7, 90; 5, 113.
[4] Brandis' deciphering of the Cyprian character, *Monatsber. der B. A.* 1873, p. 646; Kirchhoff, *Studien*[3] p. 46.
[5] *Odyss.* 8, 363.

adopted its letters: the double consonants of the Greeks remained without corresponding signs, because they were wanting in the Phœnician alphabet. The Greek settlers in Cyprus adopted the Cyprian writing. We saw that the Babylonian cuneiform character underwent a special development in Cyprus, that it was there changed into syllabic characters which essentially modified and simplified the use of the cuneiform letters. This transformation occurred in Cyprus before the Phœnician alphabetic character was in existence. Even when the Phœnicians had discovered the alphabet, the island of Cyprus continued to use the ancient syllabic character. This character was also adopted by the Greek settlers in Cyprus, and used by them on inscriptions and coins until the fifth century. If the Greeks on their arrival in Cyprus had been already in possession of the Græco-Phœnician alphabet, they would never have adopted the far more inconvenient Cyprian character. From this it appears evident that the first Greek settlements in Cyprus must have been established before the existence of the Græco-Phœnician alphabet, *i.e.* before the year 800 B.C., in the middle of the ninth century.

On the Syrian coast just at this time events were transpiring which might render the colonisation of Cyprus easier to the Greeks. King Assurnasirpal of Assyria (883-859 B.C.) had penetrated in the year 876 B.C. to the Orontes and to Libanus; he received tribute from the king Mutton of Tyre, from the king of Sidon, the king of Byblus, and the king of Aradus. The successor of Assurnasirpal, King Shalmanesar II. (859-823 B.C.), repeatedly levied tribute on Sidon, Tyre, and Israel, as did King Bin Nirar IV. (810-781 B.C.) Still heavier was the hand of Tiglath Pilesar II. (747-727

B.C.) upon Syria; Tyre, Byblus, Aradus, Zemar, and Arca, brought him tribute, and recognised the supremacy of Assyria; King Sittibaal of Byblus and King Mattanbaal of Aradus are mentioned among the conquered princes.

Such attacks on the Phœnician cities on the mainland from the east must have been an assistance to the Greek settlers in Cyprus; they must have hindered Tyre from protecting with its full strength the cities subject to it in Cyprus, while on the other hand the advances of the Greeks demanded that here, even more than in Crete and Rhodes, they should admit the Phœnicians who formed part of the old inhabitants, into their commonwealths, that they should apply themselves zealously to the old cults of the island and its previous civilisation without abandoning their own language or losing it in this union. A single and quite isolated statement tells us that Cittium fell away from Tyre at the time when King Elulæus reigned at Tyre, but was again brought into subjection by Elulæus. This event falls in the years 727-721 B.C. Subsequently King Sargon of Assyria, after the capture of Samaria, brought the whole of Syria, Edom, and Moab, and the towns of the Philistines, into his power. The princes of the towns of Cyprus likewise now thought it advisable to acknowledge the supremacy of Assyria; from Tyre, at all events, they had nothing more to fear, if they were direct subjects of the king of Assyria. In the year 709 B.C. seven princes of Cyprus brought their tribute to Sargon at Babylon. As a token of his dominion over Cyprus, Sargon had his picture engraved on a memorial stone, and set up at Cittium, with an account of his deeds, and of this imposition of tribute.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DORIANS IN LACONIA.

THE Doric host which had settled on the upper Eurotas, and sought to advance (p. 213) against the ancient population of this valley down the stream, was long confined to a small territory. The abrupt wall of Mount Taygetus, on the right bank of the river, unbroken by any transverse valley, keeps so near to the upper course of the Eurotas that only a narrow border of shore is left; on the left bank the lower heights of Mount Parnon leave a wider space, until at Pellana they too advance close to the swiftly-rushing waters. At the lower end of this defile, and not till then, the range of Mount Taygetus falls back from the stream farther to the westward, and thus makes room for a broader plain, fertile in grain, the "hollow Lacedæmon;" while only a few leagues from the mouth of the Eurotas, the two mountain-chains again approach each other so closely that the stream has to rush over their precipices in waterfalls. Below these falls the Eurotas traverses a flat and extensive littoral plain extending to the sea. Only the region situated above Pellana, and the upper and smaller part of "hollow Lacedæmon," onwards as far as the confluence of the Tyasa, which flows down from Mount Taygetus into the Eurotas, had the Dorians brought under their sway; the lower half of "hollow Lacedæmon" was barred by

the Achæans, who held Amyclæ and the whole river-valley southward from Amyclæ to the sea. Two miles and a half higher up than the hill on which Amyclæ lay, at the confluence of the Tyasa with the Eurotas, near the highest peaks of Mount Taygetus, Mount Taleton, and Mount Euoras, which rise 8000 feet, the Dorians fixed their camp. It was the fittest spot for an assault on Amyclæ, as well as for the prevention of plundering expeditions by the Amyclæans into the upper plain, and for parrying their attacks.

"The Spartans, in contradiction to all the poets," says Herodotus, "relate that Aristodemus, the son of Aristomachus (p. 203), had led them into the land which they now possess, and not the sons of Aristodemus; not long after this event Argea his wife had borne him twins. Aristodemus died of some sickness soon after their birth. The Lacedæmonians resolved that the elder, according to their custom, should succeed his father on the throne. But the mother declared that she did not know which was the elder, though she did know it, because she wished both to become kings. When the Lacedæmons enquired at Delphi how they were to proceed under these circumstances, they were told to make both sons their kings, but to give greater honour to him who was the elder. In order to discover which was the elder, a Messenian named Panitus counselled the Lacedæmonians to observe Argea and see which of the twins she first washed, and to which she first gave the breast—then they would learn what they desired to know. And when they had followed this counsel and observed Argea, they had the child which they thus discovered to be the elder brought up at the charge of the state,

and gave him the name of Eurysthenes, while the younger received that of Procles. When they grew up to be youths they opposed one another as long as they lived, and their descendants also continued to be adversaries."[1]

The narrative of Ephorus is as follows: The Heraclidæ, Eurysthenes and Procles, had divided Laconia into six parts and built cities. One of these divisions, that of Amyclæ, they gave to the man who had betrayed Laconia to them, and had persuaded the ruler of Laconia (that is, Tisamenus) to withdraw with the Achæans to Ionia, *i.e.* to the country of the Ægialieis. Sparta they made their capital city; into the other parts they sent kings with directions, on account of *the scarcity of men, to adopt all strangers who desired* it as their allies. At the same time they gave to all the conquered Periœci equal rights with the Spartans and guaranteed them a share in the state and in the various offices. But Agis, son of Eurysthenes, took from them these equal rights, and commanded them to bring tribute to Sparta. They would all have done this, but the inhabitants of Helus resisted, were conquered in war, and, under *certain conditions*, made slaves; according to these, the owner of a slave could neither set him at liberty nor sell him beyond the boundaries of the country. This war was called the war of the Helots.[2]

This version of ancient Spartan history, which has sprung from the desire to represent the Spartans as *always in possession of the whole Eurotas valley*, is found with some other features in Nicolaus of Damascus. "According to the agreement with the traitor Philonomus," he says, "the Heraclidæ did not at first

[1] Herod. 6, 52; 4, 147. [2] Strabo, p. 364.

apportion the district of Amyclæ; but as Philonomus did not show himself, from shame because of his treason, the division of this land also was carried out. Subsequently, however, Philonomus came with an army from Lemnos, and the Heraclidæ gave him this district with equal rights: and he gave portions of land to all who desired it, and dwelt at Amyclæ as their king."[1] Moreover, we are told by Conon: "Philonomus, who had betrayed Lacedæmon, received Amyclæ as a gift, and established settlers here from Lemnos and Imbros. But in the third generation they rose against the Dorians and were driven from Amyclæ. Under the leadership of Pollis and Delphus they sailed, taking with them some inhabitants of Sparta, to Crete." Part of them colonised Melos as they passed by: the rest took Gortyn in Crete, which was undefended, and peopled this city with Cretan Periœci. Conon says in another place that the Lacedæmonians had sent out the people of Philonomus, whose leaders were Pollis and Delphus, to make a new settlement.[2]

Polyænus and Plutarch have the following narrative: The Tyrrhenians (they designate by this name, which was in use from the time of Sophocles, the Minyæ and Pelasgiotes who had emigrated from Attica, p. 249), driven out by the Athenians, came from Lemnos and Imbros, whither they had migrated from Attica, to Laconia, occupied Mount Tænarum, and assisted the Spartans in the war against the Helots. As a reward they received a share in the commonwealth and the right of intermarrying. But as they had been excluded from the council and public offices, they had come under suspicion of striving after innovations, and the

[1] Nicol. Damasc. *Fragm.* 36, Ed. Muller.
[2] Conon, *Narrat.* 36, 47.

Lacedæmonians had caused them to be imprisoned and guarded. But the wives of the prisoners had besought the warders that they might see and speak with their husbands. This being permitted, they had changed clothes with the men, who in the evening had gone forth in women's dress; but their wives, determined to endure everything in order to save their husbands, remained behind. The emancipated men did not forget their wives; they occupied Mount Taygetus and called on the Helots to rebel. Overcome by fear, the Spartans negotiated with them, and agreed to give them back their wives, and also money and ships: thus they sent out the Tyrrhenians as colonists of Laconia.[1] Plutarch thus closes his account: In return for the giving up of their wives and for the ships and money, the Tyrrhenians promised, when they should have elsewhere acquired land and cities, to call themselves colonists of the Lacedæmonians. This they did. They made Pollis and his brother Crataidas the Lacedæmonians their leaders; part of them settled in the island of Melos; the greater part, however, went under the conduct of Pollis to Crete, landed there first by Cherronesus (on the north coast) and took possession of a piece of land. In numerous wars Pollis withstood his adversaries; he built Lyctus and reduced other cities to subjection.[2]

The official Spartan account of these events has been preserved by Herodotus. "Descendants of the Argonauts sailed from Lemnos to Laconia,[3] encamped on Mount Taygetus and kindled a fire. The Lacedæmonians sent a messenger to enquire who they were.

[1] Polyæn. 7, 49. [2] Plut. *Mulier. Virt.* 8; *Quæst. Græc.* 21.

[3] The supposed descent of the Minyæ from the Argonauts, and the supposed expulsion of the Minyæ from Lemnos by the Pelasgians, who were driven out from Attica, have been already discussed, p. 251.

When they learned that they were Minyæ, the Lacedæmonians enquired further why they had come into their country and had kindled fire? The Minyæ answered that they came as exiles into the land of their fathers (the Tyndaridæ); they asked to live with them, and to receive a share in the land and honours. The Lacedæmonians agreed, chiefly because the Tyndaridæ had taken part in the voyage of the Argo. They gave the Minyæ land, and divided them among their tribes, and the Minyæ married Lacedæmonian wives, and gave their daughters, whom they had brought from Lemnos, to Lacedæmonians. But not long afterwards the Minyæ also demanded a share in the kingdom, and perpetrated other evil deeds. Then the Lacedæmonians took them prisoners, meaning to kill them in the night-time. But the wives of the Minyæ, the daughters of the chief Spartans, demanded access to their husbands, and when they had been allowed this, they gave their clothes to their husbands, and remained in prison in the clothes of the men, while the men in women's clothes escaped and again occupied Mount Taygetus. When the Spartans had held council to slay the Minyæ there, Theras entreated for them and averted their fate, by promising to lead the Minyæ out of the country. Theras was the brother of the wife of Aristodemus, and had conducted the government after the death of Aristodemus for the infant twin sons of his sister, Procles and Eurysthenes; but as soon as they were of age he would not remain in the country, but departed with people out of the Spartan tribes to his kindred on the island of Calliste. The Spartans followed his counsel, and thus Theras, with three ships of thirty oars, passed over to Calliste, not with all the

Minyæ, but only a small part of them; the greater part of the Minyæ marched against the Paroreatæ and Caucones, drove them from the country, and founded here six cities. But the son of Theras, Oeolycus, would not emigrate with his father; the father said: 'He left him behind, as a sheep in the midst of wolves.' The son of this Oeolycus was Ægeus, and from him sprang the great tribe of the Ægidæ at Sparta."

No other Hellenic state has its beginnings so involved in obscurity and overgrown with fables as that of Sparta. The collection of legends—that of the treachery and recompense of Philonomus, who persuades the king of Laconia, Tisamenus, to migrate to Achæa; of the equal rights of the Achæans with the Dorians; of the rebellion of the posterity of Philonomus, or of the town of Helus; of the encampment of the Minyæ on Mount Taygetus, or their settlement on Mount Tænarum; of the adoption of the Minyæ or Tyrrhenians into the Spartan commonwealth; of the disputes that then arose; of their imprisonment and deliverance by women; of the sending out of Philonomus's people or of Minyæ, as colonists of Sparta,—all this is based upon the notion that Sparta, from the time of its founding, had ruled from the sources of the Eurotas to its fall into the sea. It is very natural that a state which afterwards occupied so important a position in Hellas should wish to represent itself as already powerful and respected in ancient times. All the more ground is there for crediting the opposite tradition, according to which Amyclæ and the cities to the south of Amyclæ were first conquered by the Spartans in the reign of King Teleclus, and the lower plain on the sea, with the town of Helus, under Alcamenes, the

son of Teleclus, *i.e.* about the time of the institution of the common sacrifice at Olympia. The important and unimpeachable evidence which is in favour of this tradition will be brought forward below; it will be shown that the conquest of Amyclæ, a decisive event in the history of Sparta, took place about the year 800 B.C., and that of Helus about the year 770 B.C.

The stories derived from Ephorus or traceable to him, concerning Amyclæ and the Minyæ, bring to our notice three factors—(1) in the rule of Philonomus and his descendants over Amyclæ we see the independence of Amyclæ in regard to the Spartans, which in these versions is represented as a consequence of his treachery, but at the same time as effected by treaty; (2) the settlement of the territory of Amyclæ by Minyæ who (for the reason we have already seen) were invariably brought from Lemnos and Imbros; (3) the breaking of the treaties, the battle, and expulsion of the followers of Philonomus in the third generation. The version of Plutarch and Polyænus leaves out Amyclæ and Philonomus; the Minyæ come independently, and possess themselves of Mount Tænarum, but then likewise by a treaty receive a share in the commonwealth and the right of intermarriage in reward for services rendered against the Helots, *i.e.* the Heleans, the inhabitants of the territory of Helus; as in the story of Ephorus, Philonomus is rewarded for his treachery. A breach of the treaty then results from further claims of the Minyæ. The characteristic features of these narratives lie in the seizure and imprisonment of all the males among the Minyæ, and their deliverance by the women, in the occupation of Mount Taygetus by the Minyæ, and their joining with the Heleans in war against the Spartans. If, in the version of

Plutarch and Polyænus the right of intermarriage, which the Minyæ received, is accounted for by services rendered to the Spartans, in the narrative of Herodotus this motive, together with the Helots, is entirely wanting; while on the other hand the motive of the action of the women comes forward all the more prominently. According to Herodotus, the Minyæ occupy Mount Taygetus, and receive admission into the country, into the tribes of the Spartans, and right of intermarriage, for the strange reason that the Tyndaridæ had taken part in the expedition of the Argonauts. The Tyndaridæ were worshipped by the Achæans of Amyclæ, a worship which was afterwards continued by the Spartans in their country. The right of intermarriage, of which the Minyæ immediately make extensive use, gives them Spartan wives; to these Spartan wives they owe their deliverance. In place of the battle between the Spartans and the race of Philonomus, *i.e.* the Achæans and Minyæ, both in Herodotus and in Plutarch and Polyænus the imprisonment is inserted; and if the version in Plutarch and Polyænus finally ends in the war in which the Minyæ and Heleans encounter the Spartans, even in Herodotus the Minyæ who were saved by the women take refuge on Mount Taygetus, but it is then the intercession of Theras and not the Spartans' fear of the Minyæ and Heleans which induces the emigration. In the narratives borrowed from Ephorus, and in those of Plutarch and Polyænus, the Minyæ, or the Achæans and Minyæ, receive free leave to depart on condition that they call themselves colonists of Sparta.

The tendency of all the versions of this legend is the same—the concealment of the fact that the Achæans

maintained the lower valley of the Eurotas against the Spartans. If, then, Philonomus peoples Amyclæ with Minyæ, and the Minyæ establish themselves on Mount Tænarum or Mount Taygetus, that is merely an alteration of the fact that part of the Minyæ who migrated from Attica found reception, not with the Spartans, but with the Achæans on the lower Eurotas; these exiles from the north and centre of Greece must have been welcomed by the Achæans as allies against the Spartans. And if to the different versions concerning the departure of the Minyæ, the people of Philonomus, we add the statement of Pausanias, that at the time of King Teleclus Amyclæ was conquered; that the inhabitants of Pharis and Geronthræ quitted the valley of the Eurotas on certain conditions; that, lastly, the Achæans of Helus were forced down to the sea-coast—from all this the true state of the case becomes clearly apparent, namely, that the Spartans only succeeded at a later time and after long conflicts in extending their dominion to the sea. This great achievement is corroborated by the festival of the Hyacinthia, which was at the same time a feast of victory over Amyclæ, by the hero's altar, which was dedicated in Sparta to King Teleclus (the only king of Sparta to whom this honour was done), the temple of Zeus, the averter of enemies at Sparta, "which," says Pausanias, "the Spartans built when they had conquered in war the other Achæans who had hitherto occupied the soil of Laconia as well as the people of Amyclæ."[1] In consequence of these victories the Achæans and Minyæ who would not submit to the rule of the Dorians retreated to the west coast of the Peloponnesus, where they conquered for themselves a

[1] Pausan. 3, 15, 10; 3, 12, 9; 3, 19, 6.

new home in the land of the Caucones and Parc
in Triphylia, while some of them settled in M
Thera, and Crete. The pretence of the Sp
legends, therefore, that *Sparta sent out these col*
is as idle as the *statements* that they gave to
Achæan Philonomus the land of Amyclæ, that
admitted the Minyæ into their territory, and tha
Spartan wives whom they had given to the Mi
saved their husbands' lives.

The *introduction of the Ægidæ into these lege*
has its special reason. There was in Thebes
Sparta a race which derived its descent from
tribal ancestor Ægeus. The Ægidæ of Sparta w
said to have gone thither from Thebes; according
there stood in Sparta not only an altar of Ægeus
also an altar of Cadmus, from whom the Ægidæ trac
their genealogy.[1] *Aristotle represents the Ægidæ*
sent from Thebes, in obedience to an oracle, by t
Spartans, when they were at war with Amyclæ; a
Timomachus is, according to Aristotle, the tribal ance
tor of the Ægidæ in Sparta. According to Pindar
testimony also, the reputation of the Ægidæ in Spart
was based on their services in the capture of Amyclæ.
Other versions ascribe previous services to the Ægida
in respect to the origin of the Spartan commonwealth
though the conquest of Amyclæ was undoubtedly the
foundation of the Spartan power. *In Ephorus, Aristodemus, father of Eurysthenes and Procles, summons*
the Ægidæ, in obedience to an oracle, to go with him
and the Dorians into the Peloponnesus. On the island

1 Pausan. 3, 15, 8. The son of Polynices is Thersander; the son of Thersander, Tisamenus; the son of Tisamenus, Autesion. Autesion flies before the Erinnyes of Laius and Oedipus, at the command of the oracle to Sparta; so Pausanias, 9, 5, 15.

of Thera a man named Theras, belonging to this race of the Ægidæ, was worshipped as founder of the Greek settlement upon the island.[1] The settlement at Thera appeared as a Spartan colony, as Theras conducted it there from Sparta; and the Ægidæ in Sparta had already done the most important services in the beginnings of the Spartan state, if their ancestors had marched to Peloponnesus with Aristodemus. Thus Theras was made the tribal ancestor of the Ægidæ of Sparta. The sister of Theras, this supposed ancestor of the Ægidæ of Sparta, became the wife of Aristodemus, and Theras was promoted to be guardian of her twin sons. Thus the Ægidæ of Sparta were also made near relations of the Spartan royal houses. Theras, the guardian, emigrates when the twins, the reputed ancestors of the kings of Sparta, Eurysthenes and Procles, are grown up—in Herodotus, because he will not obey, after he has borne rule; in Pausanias, because his wards, otherwise at strife, agreed to send him out of the country.[2] It happens that he desires to emigrate with Spartans just as the slaying of the Minyæ on Mount Taygetus was being negotiated (p. 341). He promised to conduct the Minyæ away, but takes with him only some few and comes to Thera, which until then had been called Calliste. Here he found his kinsmen, for Theras traced his descent from Thebes, from Cadmus; and Cadmus in his lifetime had left some of his followers behind at Calliste, who now gave Theras a friendly reception. Theras must have brought over some Minyæ with him, because Cyrene in Libya was subsequently colonised from Thera, and this colony was led and organised by a Minyan of that island. But Theras left his own son

[1] Pausan. 3, 1, 7.

[2] Herod. 4, 147; Pausan. *loc. cit.*

behind him in Sparta, as "a sheep among wolves," because it was necessary that the house of the Ægidæ should be continued in Sparta.

If it be certain in regard to the commencement of the Doric community in the Eurotas valley that its dominion for a century and a half did not extend farther south than Amyclæ, and that the Dorians reached the sea-coast even later, they could not, it is plain, have founded colonies beyond the sea before the capture of Helus and the acquisition of the lower plain. Herewith, not only does the whole series of fables of the treachery of Philonomus, the gift of Amyclæ, the admission of the Achæans or Minyæ into the state of Sparta, the virtue of the Spartan wives of the Minyæ, the guardianship of Theras, and so forth, fall to the ground, but the whole contents likewise of the other traditions about the kings of Sparta and their deeds before Teleclus, become extremely doubtful.

Eurysthenes, the elder twin son of Aristodemus and the sister of Theras, was succeeded in the government, it is said, by Agis (p. 338), Echestratus, Labotas, Doryssus, Agesilaus, and Archelaus—and Archelaus by his son Teleclus; Procles, the younger twin, was succeeded by Sous, Eurypon, Prytanis, Eunomus, Polydectes, and Charilaus. So run the genealogical tables of the two royal houses which ruled in Sparta side by side.

Of the descendants of Eurysthenes, we are told: After Agis the son of Eurysthenes had been slain by the Arcadians, the Spartans under the rule of his son Echestratus had driven out all the youths of the land of Cynuria, *i.e.* of the east coast between Parnon and the sea, because they had made plundering expeditions into the country of Argos and Laconia; and under the

rule of Archelaus, the father of Teleclus, the inhabitants of the district of Ægys (at the sources of the Eurotas) were made slaves, as it was feared they would desert to the Arcadians. The whole east coast between Mount Parnon and the sea, as far down as Cape Malea, belonged, at any rate till the middle of the eighth century and perhaps longer, to the kings of Argos; the war and the successes of Echestratus in Cynuria are a manifest anticipation of the long and severe struggle which Sparta maintained against Argos in this region in the seventh and sixth centuries. The conquest of Ægys also, as will be shown, occurred later than the tradition represents; it took place about the middle of the eighth century.[1]

More details are given us respecting the descendants of Procles, the princes of the other house. First we learn that Procles surpassed his brother Eurysthenes by the fame of his deeds.[2] Under the rule of his son Sous the Helots were made slaves, and much land was taken from the Arcadians. In the war with the Arcadians, Sous was besieged by the Cleitorians in a very inaccessible place, destitute of water. He agreed with the Cleitorians to yield them the conquered land if all those who were with him drank of the neighbouring stream. When this had been ratified by oath, the Cleitorians watched the stream, and Sous announced to his followers that he would resign the crown to the man who did not drink. But none could resist their thirst, and all drank. Then Sous himself went down, in the sight of the Cleitorians, to the stream, sprinkled himself with the water, but did not drink, and kept the

[1] Pausan. 3, 2, 2, 5. That Ægys was in the hands of the Spartans before the first Messenian war follows from the fact that they began this war with the taking of Am hea. [2] Cic. *De Divinat.* 2, 43, 90.

conquered land as all had not drunk.[1] Eurypon, the son of Sous, is likewise said to have gained much glory. He too fought against the Arcadians. When the war with Mantinea had lasted a long time, Eurypon tried to sow discord among the Mantineans, and to this end sent a herald with the following message: The Lacedæmonians would desist from war if the Mantineans would expel the murderers of Agis from their city. Those who were guilty of the murder feared lest the desire for peace might lead to their being given up; they therefore promised freedom to the slaves, armed them, placed themselves at their head, and destroyed as many of the hostile party as they could. These now opposed them with arms, but were defeated. Part of the conquered faction fled to the gates, and opened them to the Lacedæmonians. Thus Eurypon became lord of Mantinea.[2] Under his son Prytanis hatred arose between the Lacedæmonians and the Argives. The reign of Eunomus, son of Prytanis, and that of his grandson Polydectes were peaceful. But Charilaus, son of Polydectes, assisted Archelaus to take Ægys, laid waste Argos, and marched first against the Arcadians of Tegea, suffered however a severe defeat, and was himself taken prisoner by them.[3]

Very remarkable, and, in the beginnings of the Spartan state, absolutely incomprehensible, are the wars which Sous and Eurypon, son and grandson of Procles, are said to have carried on against Cleitor and Mantinea far from the Eurotas, in the middle and north of Arcadia. The quarrel of Prytanis with Argos, and the war of Charilaus with Argos are, like the expedition of Echestratus against Cynuria, anticipations of the later

[1] Plut. *Apophtheg. Lac. Sous. Lycurg.* 2. [2] Polyæn. 2, 13.
[3] Pausan. 3, 7, 1-4; 8, 5, 9; 8, 48, 4, 5; Polyæn. 1, 11.

rivalry between Argos and Sparta. It is otherwise with the war of Charilaus with Tegea, the canton of Arcadia lying nearest to the valley of the Eurotas and that of its tributary the Oenus. This war appears, from monuments which the Tegeatæ erected in memory of it, to be an established fact.

Stranger than all the other strange features of the tradition of Sparta is the statement that the Dorians in the Eurotas valley were governed from the very commencement by two royal houses side by side. The reputed descent of these from a pair of twins is not sufficient to explain a phenomenon so strange, so peculiar, and recurring neither in any other Greek canton nor in the whole course of history, viz. the existence in Sparta of a double sovereignty, lasting for life and hereditary, belonging to two dynasties at the same time, and occupied by them contemporaneously and side by side. An institution of this kind bears least of all the character of primitiveness. It is contrary to the very nature of military leadership, from which the office of king generally sprang, and must have arisen in the warlike times of migration and conquest; contrary to the requirement of an exclusive, fixed, and sole guidance, which the Dorians of Sparta must have felt all the more pressingly, the longer was the duration of the war against the Achæans of Amyclæ; and contrary to the very essence of monarchical power, whose uniform, exclusive, and self-determining will is nullified by partition. It needed no enquiry into the legend itself to recognise it as a later fiction, intended to explain an existing condition of things. The two kingly races which we find governing in Sparta were not named after their supposed twin ancestors, Eurysthenes and Procles, but after Agis and Eurypon, the one said

to be the son of Eurysthenes, the other the son or grandson of Procles. The family of Eurysthenes bears the name of the Agidæ, that of Procles the name of the Eurypontidæ, from which it is clear that the twin brothers are only placed as ancestors at the head of the Agidæ and Eurypontidæ. Besides, the legend allows that Eurysthenes was the more honoured.[1] This implies that the Agidæ were an older house, and the Eurypontidæ a younger. And when it relates that the twins were at strife all their lives, and that their descendants remained hostile to each other (p. 338), the true state of the case, viz. that there was a struggle between two houses for the supremacy, appears to be clearly indicated. It seems already to have struck Ephorus as strange that the two royal houses in Sparta should not have been called after Eurysthenes and Procles. He explains it in the following manner:—Although Eurysthenes and Procles had been the founders of the state, the honour had not been accorded to them which was usually given to founders of commonwealths, nor were they called chief leaders (ἀρχηγέται), nor were their descendants named after them. The reason was that they had taken to themselves alien people, and by their strength had conquered,[2] a reason which certainly does not agree with the good title of inheritance given to them by the legend, as sons of the conqueror Aristodemus. We can confidently deduce from this statement that Eurysthenes and Procles did not found the state which subsequently grew into the Spartan commonwealth.

Polyænus relates as follows: "Procles and Temenus, the Heraclidæ, conquered the Eurysthidæ, who occupied Sparta. When the Heraclidæ, in crossing the boundary,

[1] Herod. 6, 51. [2] Ephorus ap. Strab. p. 366.

were offering the sacrifice of the boundary to Athena they were attacked by the Eurysthidæ, who unexpectedly sallied forth against them. But the Heraclidæ were not vanquished; as they were, they commanded the flute-players to go before them and to sound an assault; marching to the melody and rhythm, the Hoplites preserved their order unbroken, and conquered. This experience taught the Laconians always to have the flute-players to go before them in battle."[1] The form Eurystheus is also elsewhere used for Eurysthenes.[2]

Thus there were two princely houses—the Eurysthidæ, "which possessed Sparta;" and the Proclidæ, who, in opposition to the Eurysthidæ, were called Heraclidæ. Temenus and Procles stand at the head of the army which, coming from the north, attacks the princes of Sparta. A principality therefore existed, the government of a family, the house of Eurystheus-Eurysthenes at Sparta on the middle Eurotas; on this tribe a Dorian army, at the head of which are Procles and the founder of the Doric Argos (in opposition to the Eurysthidæ both are denominated Heraclidæ), make a successful attack. As the Eurysthidæ are also called by Herodotus the older house, it was easy to see in them an Achæan princely family which opposed the Dorians breaking in from the north, was vanquished by them, and may have found accommodation among the conquerors by treaty. This, however, is inconsistent with the statements of Ephorus, that it was Agis, son of Eurysthenes, who took their equal rights from the Periœci and imposed tribute on

[1] Polyæn. 1, 10.
[2] Wachsmuth, *Ursprung des Doppelkonigthums;* Jahn's *Jahrbucher*, 1868, p. 6.

them, and that Agis made the opposing Achæans Helots, and made regulations for the Helots, which afterwards remained in force;[1] and no less inconsistent with the statement of the Spartans in Herodotus, that Lycurgus was the son of Agis the king, and belonged to the house of Eurysthenes.[2] Such decided Dorians, such pronounced opponents of the Achæans, could not possibly have belonged to an Achæan princely house. Still more difficult is the glaring improbability that while at Amyclæ there existed a considerable Achæan community, and, as its continuance shows, a community sufficiently powerful in war against the Spartans, the victorious Dorians should have tolerated a second Achæan community here in Sparta, or united it with themselves by equal rights; lastly, what reason would the princes of Sparta, the Eurysthidæ, have had, had they been Achæans defeated by Procles—to place themselves rather with the hostile Dorians than with their comrades of Amyclæ?

Let us recall the course which the conquests of the Dorians in the Peloponnesus had taken. From the border lands of Arcadia, from Basilis and Trapezus, they gained the terrace of Stenyclarus, and settled themselves on the upper Eurotas. From hence one division presses forward to the middle Eurotas, and fixes its quarters opposite Amyclæ; the other turns eastward from the upper Eurotas to its tributary, the Oenus: here a second Doric colony is formed. From the Oenus advancing hosts then cross Mount Parnon, reach Cynuria, and at last from hence conquer Argos (p. 213). Accordingly, we can only suppose that the

[1] *Supra*, p. 338; Strabo, p. 366. In Plutarch (*Lyc.* 2) the institution of the Helots is ascribed to Sous, without mention of the source from which Plutarch derives his statement. [2] Herod. 1, 65; 7, 204.

commonwealth at Sparta, on the middle Eurotas, under the Eurysthidæ, existed side by side with another community in the territory of the Oenus formed by the Dorians who remained behind there under the Proclidæ. It is to the princes of this house, Sous, Eurypon, and Charilaus, that the conflicts with the Arcadians are chiefly ascribed. Or are the exploits said to have been performed by Sous, the son of Procles, and his grandson Eurypon, against the Cleitorians and Mantineans, to be explained on the supposition that Doric warriors, when Argos had been taken from them, came from thence, tried in vain to settle in Arcadia, and, driven back, planted themselves on the river Oenus?[1] But Plato tells us that the Spartans called rapid rushing motion Σοῦς (from σείω), and that this had been the name of a famous man among the Spartans; and neither Herodotus nor Ephorus represents Sous as son of Procles or King of Sparta.[2] The second royal house of Sparta, *i.e.* the princes who previously had ruled on the Oenus, was called after Eurypon. We must therefore hold to the theory that two Doric communities existed in the territory of the Eurotas, the one under the Agidæ at Sparta, on the middle course of the stream, the other under the Eurypontidæ on the upper Oenus. From hence, from the upper Oenus, Dorian hosts went forth over Mount Parnon to Cynuria, and afterwards conquered Argos. So the legend might ascribe great glory to Procles, might connect him with Temenus of Argos, might trace his descent from Heracles, a descent which the kings of Argos, as we have seen, first claimed for themselves. Wars, feuds, and quarrels were not wanting

[1] Gelzer, *Wanderzuge der Dorer.*
[2] Plato, *Cratylus*, p. 412; Herod. 8, 131; Strabo, p 366.

between the two commonwealths, as is shown by the tradition of the battle between the Eurysthidæ and Procles, and the legend of the constant discord between Eurysthenes and Procles and their descendants. From this opposition of the Dorians settled in the Eurotas valley we can also explain the extraordinarily long suspension of their advance against the Achæans of Amyclæ. Only after a severe defeat sustained by the community on the Oenus, fighting under their King Charilaus against the Tegeatæ (*sup.* p. 350), did the equalisation —the union of the two commonwealths take place.

CHAPTER IX.

LYCURGUS OF SPARTA.

"LACEDÆMONIA, since its foundation by the Dorians who now inhabit it, has been, of all the states known to us, the longest torn by dissension, but even in ancient times it received good laws; for more than four hundred years have the Lacedæmonians lived under the same constitution, and strong herein, have also taken part in the settlement of other states." So Thucydides tells us.[1] In Herodotus we read: "Formerly, the Lacedæmonians lived under almost the worst laws of all the Hellenes, and did not mix in the affairs of others. They arrived at good laws in the following manner. When Lycurgus, one of the great men among the Spartans, came to the oracle at Delphi, the Pythia cried out to him: 'Thou comest, Lycurgus, to my rich temple, dear to Zeus and to all who dwell on Olympus. I am uncertain whether I shall proclaim thee a god or a man, but I think thou art rather a god, O Lycurgus.' Some add that the Pythia likewise gave him the constitution of the Spartans as it still exists. But the Lacedæmonians themselves say that Lycurgus transferred this constitution from Crete to Sparta when he held the guardianship of Labotas, the son of his brother (p. 348). As soon as he undertook this guardianship he changed

[1] Thucyd. 1, 18.

all laws, and took measures that those he promulgated should not be transgressed. Then he arranged the military system, the Enomotiæ, the Triacades, and the Syssitia, and introduced the Ephors and the Gerontes. By means of these changes the Spartans attained to a wise order, but to Lycurgus they built a temple after his death, and held him in great honour."[1] Xenophon tells us that the laws of the Spartans must have been very old, for Lycurgus is said to have lived about the time of the Heraclidæ. Plutarch adds to this, by way of explanation, that Xenophon must no doubt mean the first Heraclidæ,—those that came nearest to Heracles.[2]

The statements of later writers are different. According to Ephorus, Lycurgus, who founded their constitution for the Spartans, lived at a much later date. He was of the family of Procles, younger brother of King Polydectes, the fifth or sixth king (*Procles, Sous, Eurypon, Prytanis, Eunomus, Polydectes*) of that house.[3] He undertook the guardianship of Charilaus, the son born after the death of Polydectes. But as some one accused him of himself wishing to be king, Lycurgus went to Crete, and only returned home when Charilaus was reigning. Then he applied himself to giving the Spartans laws, went to Delphi, and brought from thence rules.[4] Aristotle has the same statements. "We are told," he says, "*that Lycurgus, when he resigned the guardianship of* King Charilaus, went into other countries, and spent the longest time in Crete."[5] In another place he observes: "Tyranny passes into aristocracy, as the tyranny of Charilaus did in Lace-

[1] Herod. 1, 65, 66. [2] *Laced. Respubl.* 10, 5; Plut. *Lyc.* 1.
[3] *Supra*, pp 348, 355; Strabo, p. 366. [4] Strabo, p. 482. [5] Polyb. 2, 7, 1.

dæmon."[1] Similarly, in Heraclides of Pontus, we read: "When Lycurgus learned that great lawlessness prevailed in his native country, and that Charilaus was governing tyrannically, he altered the laws."[2]

Polybius ascribes to Lycurgus the harmonious disposition of the citizens, and the security of the country, and praises him for having given such good precepts for the preservation of freedom, and provided for everything so well, that such wisdom was to be accounted rather that of a god than of a man. "The equality of goods, the simple manner of life in common which he prescribed, must have made men discreet and prevented strife; practice in hardships and in the bearing of evils must have made them strong and magnanimous. When valour and wisdom are found united, trouble does not easily grow from within, nor is there much fear of subjection from without. It remained for Lycurgus, after he had made the Spartans self-dependent and brave, to lay upon them precept or command that their state also for its part should be moderate and sober; but, on the contrary, he left it the most ambitious, tyrannical, and covetous, of all the Hellenic states."[3] In the account of Trogus, Lycurgus succeeds his brother Polydectes in the government, but leaves it to Polydectes' posthumous son Charilaus, as soon as he was grown up. During the time of his minority Lycurgus gives the Spartans, who are without laws, laws and a constitution. As the Spartan manners were lax, he makes adherence to his hard precepts easier by representing Apollo as their author, and, in order to guarantee their eternal continuance, he announces that he is going to visit the Delphic oracle, and makes the Spartans swear not to alter anything

[1] Polyb. 5, 10, 3. [2] *Fragm.* 2, 3, Ed. Muller [3] Polyb. 6, 48.

until his return. But he goes to Crete, and remains there in voluntary exile until his death.[1]

Plutarch gives us the history of Lycurgus at length. In the account of his life and circumstances he chiefly follows Ephorus, Hermippus of Smyrna, and Aristocrates of Sparta.[2] In order to obtain the favour of the many, King Eurypon is said to have diminished the excessive power of the royal authority. By this means the people was strengthened, and as the succeeding kings either made themselves hated by the manner in which they used their power, or yielded, partly to gain the popular favour, and partly through weakness, disorder and lawlessness prevailed for a long time in Sparta. When the father of Polydectes (King Eunomus) once interfered to hinder a fight, he received a thrust from a cook's knife, and died of it. The kingly office descended to his elder son Polydectes, who died soon after, and the government passed over to Lycurgus. He was in fact king, until it became known that his brother's wife was pregnant. As soon as Lycurgus heard this, he declared that the throne belonged to the child; should it be a boy he would conduct the government as regent. The widow of Polydectes sent him a secret message that she would do away with her offspring, if Lycurgus, when he was king, would make her his wife. Lycurgus was horrified at such wickedness; he, however, did not oppose it, but pretended to countenance the design. He told her not to injure herself and endanger her life by any violent measures, for he would take care that the child was put out of the way as soon as it was born.

[1] Justin. 3, 2, 3.
[2] This, in my opinion, has been clearly proved by Gilbert, *Studien zur Altspart. Gesch.* pp. 96-109.

When the time drew near, he sent emissaries with instructions that if the child were a girl it should be given in charge to the women, but if it proved to be a boy they were to bring it to him. The messengers were at table when the servants came and brought the boy. Lycurgus, we are told, said to those present: "To you, O Spartans, a king is born;" took the boy to the place of the kings, and called him Charilaus (joy of the people), since all were greatly rejoiced at the wisdom and justice of Lycurgus. Lycurgus had ruled as king for eight months, and as he then reigned as guardian, every one was as ready to obey him on account of the royal power which belonged to him as for his valour. Yet there were not wanting envious persons who tried to stand in the way of Lycurgus' growing power and consideration while it was still new, and above all the relations of the mother of Charilaus, who felt herself slighted. Her brother Leonidas said scornfully, "He was quite certain that Lycurgus would one day be king," in order to make him suspected if anything happened to Charilaus. Lycurgus took such sayings to heart; he feared the uncertainty of things, and resolved to escape suspicion by keeping away from the country until his brother's son should have come to an age when he might himself beget a successor to the throne. So he departed, and came first to Crete, became acquainted with the institutions in force there, conversed with the most considerable men, and out of their laws adopted such as he approved and desired to put in force at home: there were also some which he discarded. From Crete he went, as it is related, to Ionia in order to compare the superfluity and luxury of the Ionians with the frugal and severe mode of life of the Cretans. The

Egyptians say, Lycurgus also visited them; he most admired the separation of the warriors from the other classes, and in Sparta ordained their separation from the tradespeople and artisans, in order to establish a real and unmixed body of citizens. Some Greek authors also maintain that Lycurgus visited Egypt. That he passed over into Libya and Iberia, and travelling through India, became acquainted with the Gymnosophists, is asserted only by Aristocrates the Spartan.[1] But the Lacedæmonians missed Lycurgus, and frequently sent to bring him back; they were of opinion that kings excelled their fellow-creatures in titles and honours, and in no other way, but that in Lycurgus there was a nature fitted to lead and guide men. Even by the kings his presence was no longer undesired; they hoped that the people would behave themselves less insolently if he were there. When, under these circumstances, Lycurgus returned, he immediately set to work to alter entirely the existing state of things, as it was impossible to do any good by isolated laws. In the midst of such reflections he went to Delphi, and after he had offered sacrifice to the god and enquired of him, he came back with the famous response in which the Pythia called him a man beloved of God, nay a god rather than a man, and as he asked about good laws the god would give and declare to him the constitution that was far the best of any. Thus fortified, Lycurgus assembled the chief men of the city and called upon them to support it. When the appointed day arrived he made thirty of the best of them come armed in the morning into the market-place to overawe the adversaries and to inspire them with fear. King Charilaus, who supposed that the tumult had arisen

[1] Aristocrates wrote his Λακωνικά in the second or first century B.C.

against him, fled into the bronze house of Athena, but suffered himself to be persuaded, and, when oaths of allegiance had been sworn to him, he took part in that which was going forward. Of the numerous innovations of Lycurgus, the greatest was the institution of the council of the Gerontes, of which Plato says that, being associated with the aspiring authority of the kings and endowed with equal rights, it saved and at the same time moderated that authority. For the constitution, now inclining to the tyranny of the kings, now to the democracy of the many, obtained in the Gerontes a steady point of support, which kept it in the mean and in a state of equipoise, and gave it stability; since the twenty-eight Gerontes went over to the side of the kings so far as it was necessary to withstand the power of the people, but, on the other hand, they supported the people in order that no tyranny should be suffered to prevail. Aristotle says that Lycurgus appointed twenty-eight Gerontes, because two of the thirty who were at first at his side had lost courage and abandoned the enterprise. The boldest enactment of Lycurgus was the division of the land. As the inequality was very great, many people devoid of possessions had forced their way into the community, and riches were in the hands of very few, which occasioned boasting, envy, riotousness, and crimes. Lycurgus, in order to drive out riches and poverty, divided the whole of Laconia among the Periœci into 30,000 lots, and the community of the Spartans into 9000, that all might be on an equality, and only strive to distinguish themselves in virtue. To remove inequality also in other things he abolished gold and silver money, and commanded that only iron should be employed; so that, however great the weight

and the mass the value should be small. He made, moreover, this iron hard and unprofitable for other uses by steeping it, as we are told, red-hot in vinegar. He also banished all unnecessary and superfluous arts. Thus luxury, deprived of support, must of itself gradually die out. A rhetra commanded that the roofs of the houses should be made only with the axe, and the doors only with the saw.[1] The Spartans were forbidden to go abroad and to travel in foreign countries that they might not bring home foreign customs and modes of life, and strangers who came to Sparta without any useful occupation he forbade to remain.[2] In order to strike a still more effective blow at extravagance, and wholly to eradicate the striving for riches, he introduced the third and severest of his institutions—the common meals of prescribed food and a certain number of dishes. To this ordinance, above all, the rich were opposed. They assembled themselves together, shouted, and threw stones at Lycurgus. Lycurgus took refuge in the temple; a youth of violent character named Alcander followed him, and with his staff struck out one of his eyes. When Lycurgus displayed his bloody countenance, shame and sorrow overcame the citizens: they followed him to his house, and delivered Alcander up to him. In memory of this misfortune Lycurgus built a temple to Athena Optiletis,[3] and the Spartans from that time abandoned the custom of going with staves into the assembly.

Lycurgus did not give a written code of laws; which the Lacedæmonians were forbidden by a rhetra to use. He connected the problem of legislation

[1] *Lyc.* 13. [2] *Lyc.* 27.

[3] In the *Apophthegm. Lac. Lycurg.* 7, this temple is represented merely as a monument in the precincts of the Chalciœcus.

chiefly with education. He thought that the most essential and important laws for the well-being and success of the commonwealth could only have a fixed existence by means of the morals of the citizens, and these only if they were implanted through education. In education he began from the very beginning, including in it the preparation for marriage, the training of the bodies of the young women, the care of the children, even in their earliest years; and so ordered the education of boys and youths that they should grow up in hardiness and temperance, training the body in strength and agility, accustoming themselves to obedience and reverence towards their elders and the aged, and at the same time were instructed how to give thoughtful answers and short discourses, and also in the art of singing. The so-called Crypteia is enumerated by Aristotle among the institutions of Lycurgus. "But," says Plutarch, "I would rather not ascribe such a wicked thing to Lycurgus, drawing my conclusions as to his character from the gentleness and justice he otherwise displays, and to which also the sentence of the god bears witness."[1]

When the most important prescripts of Lycurgus had become more fixed by custom, and the constitution was sufficiently strong to support and maintain itself, he called all the Spartans together and told them that the provisions he had already made were, to a certain degree, sufficient for prosperity and virtue, but the greatest and most important matter he could not disclose to them until he had consulted the god. It was therefore necessary that they should alter nothing until he returned from Delphi, then he would perform what the god commanded. All were of one

[1] *Lyc.* 28; *supra*, p. 357.

mind, and he took an oath of the kings, the Gerontes, and all the citizens, that they would abide by the present constitution till Lycurgus came back. At Delphi he enquired of the god whether his laws were good and sufficient to secure the prosperity and virtue of the state. He replied that the laws were good and that the state would be the most glorious in the world, so long as it kept to the constitution of Lycurgus. Then Lycurgus offered a sacrifice, embraced his friends and his son, and resolved, in order that the Spartans might never be released from their oath, that he would voluntarily make an end of his life by abstaining from food.[1] Some maintain that he died at Elis, others at Crete, where they showed the grave of Lycurgus near Cydonia. Aristocrates says: The friends of Lycurgus in Crete, at his request, burned his body and scattered the ashes into the sea, to make it impossible that his remains should ever be carried to Sparta, and that the Spartans should then consider themselves released from their oath as if he himself had returned. In Sparta a temple was erected to Lycurgus, and they offer sacrifices every year to him as to a god. So runs the narrative of Plutarch.

Two points of view are predominant in the legends of the Spartans concerning the origin and fortunes of their state. Their commonwealth, afterwards so powerful, must in ancient times have been of the same importance; moreover, it must have early received the constitution wherein its strength consisted, and to which it persistently clung in the face of the later development of the other Greek cantons. If from the first of these points of view those legends

[1] In Nicolaus, *Fragm.* 57, Lycurgus kills himself for the same reason at Crisa.

sprang, which gave to the Spartans the whole region of the Eurotas, and represent the emigrations of the Achæans from the lower valley of the Eurotas as Spartan colonies, the second point of view caused the government, which had been in force since the first half of the sixth century, to be put back as far as possible in the commencement of the state, and all the institutions which had grown up from that time to be ascribed to the first lawgiver. This tendency also occasioned the date of Lycurgus himself to be placed as early as possible. The official narrative of the Spartans, which Herodotus saw, makes Lycurgus the son of Agis, the founder of the line of the Agidæ; and in that narrative his institutions include not only the establishment of the Gerousia, but also that of the Ephori, the Syssitia, and the army, to which the detailed accounts, employed by Plutarch of a later date, add the division of the land, the regulation of the coinage, the marriage-laws, the discipline of youths and men—in a word, the sum total of all the institutions that afterwards existed. How could it have occurred to a lawgiver of so early a time—whether Lycurgus were the son of Agis or of Eunomus—to forbid the Spartans to make use of written laws, when even the latest period to which the activity of Lycurgus can be assigned was only just beginning to employ writing, and his work lies at least a century and a half before the date at which the Greeks received the first written laws? How could he forbid arts at a period when the old arts were forgotten? And in the rude mountain recess of Sparta, as it then was, among Doric warriors, such things were most unlikely to be found. To forbid the pursuit of common trades to soldiers proud of their arms,

who had conquered their own country, would have been very superfluous. Even in those Greek cantons where no immigrant ruling class bore sway, handicrafts were held in contempt. Wherein would have lain the motive or reason for making a duty of simplicity and plainness to a community which had behind it a long warlike life, and still led the same life? for commanding that the roofs of the houses should be made only with the axe, and the doors only with the saw, when the most wealthy could not rise above the style of prosperous peasants? How could it have been found necessary in those times of violence, when there was no protection outside a man's own community, to forbid travelling and visits to foreign countries, and to deny or render difficult to strangers, who did not come, a residence in Sparta? What ground could exist for restricting gains, trade, and commerce, at a period which knew nothing of commerce beyond the most necessary barter, and scarcely anything of trade or profit except in agriculture? These are points of view which might have been taken in the sixth century, but not in the ninth. As little could there have been opportunity in those times for excluding gold and silver, for the Hellenes had as yet no coins or stamped money, and gold and silver only existed among them in very small quantity.[1] The supposed introduction of iron money by Lycurgus is manifestly grounded upon the fact that among the Greeks, before Pheidon of Argos had struck the first coins in the cantons of the peninsula, metal bars or rods, especially rods of iron, were in circulation. Pieces of this metal remained in use at Sparta for small commerce, even in later times. That Sparta

[1] Bœckh, *Staatshaushalt*. 1³, 6, 7.

possessed iron money only, though simply for its own native coinage, it would be an error to maintain. The weights and measures and standards of Pheidon were afterwards used in Sparta; in place of the ancient iron bars, round iron pieces stamped by the state were introduced. These are said to have had the weight of a mina of Ægina (one and one-fifth of a pound), and the value of half an Æginetan obole, *i.e.* four chalcoi, equal to nine pence; an amount of the value of ten silver minæ (according to the Attic standard, about £40) must have been equal to a waggon-load of iron money.[1]

In Herodotus, Echestratus and Lycurgus are the sons of Agis. Lycurgus, being guardian to the son of Echestratus, alters the laws, according to this account, as representative and temporary possessor of the royal power; how the king of the other family, the Eurypontid who reigned side by side with Lycurgus, behaved in regard to this we are not told. Also in Ephorus and Aristotle, and in the narratives that follow Ephorus, Lycurgus is regent, though for a later king, who belongs not to the house of Agis, but to that of Eurypon. This version makes Lycurgus, however, resign the regency on account of the evil counsels of his brother's widow and her kindred, then depart from the country (p. 361), and only return after his former ward has arrived at maturity; then it represents him as reforming the constitution, without adducing any other warrant for the right of doing so than the appearance of the eight-and-twenty armed men in the market-place. Charilaus submits.

[1] Xenoph. *Resp. Lac.* 7; *Hellen.* 3, 3, 7; Plut. *Lyc.* 9; Lysander, 17; *Apophthegm. Lacon. Lycurg.* 3; Hesych. πέλανος; Heinrich Stein in Jahn's *Jahrbüchern*, 1864, p. 332 ff.

As to the behaviour of the king of the house of Agis, Archelaus, who reigns together with Charilaus, in regard to the measures of Lycurgus, this version gives no information, except a remark said to have been made by him: "How should not Charilaus be lenient, since he is not even severe towards the wicked?" In this version, which is derived from Ephorus, there are likewise differences. Herodotus speaks only of lawlessness to which Lycurgus put an end. In Aristotle and Heraclides the monarchy of Charilaus becomes a tyranny (p. 358); in Plutarch we found precisely the opposite statement: the weakness of the king has made the people ungovernable. Eunomus is stabbed in a rebellion; it is hoped that the return of Lycurgus will diminish the proud boasting of the multitude. From this uncertainty of the tradition, as well as from the observations of Plato and Plutarch on the wise mixture of authority introduced by Lycurgus, it is abundantly evident that the conceptions borrowed from the party struggles of the later centuries have been transferred to the action of Lycurgus.

According to the narrative of the Spartans preserved by Herodotus, Lycurgus introduced the laws of Crete into Sparta. Herodotus adds: "Some said that the Pythia gave him the constitution which still exists in Sparta." According to this, there existed besides the Spartan version which derived the laws of Lycurgus from Crete, another which derived them from Delphi. The later representation, which Plutarch used, seeks to combine both statements; here Lycurgus studies the Cretan laws, partly adopts and partly discards them, and then obtains the confirmation of his code at Delphi. It is not that some institutions similar to those of Sparta and the Greek states are to be found in

Crete, resting in both cases on the same foundations,—an armed immigration and a long period of war. Polybius wonders with good reason how the "most intelligent of the ancient writers, Ephorus, Xenophon, Callisthenes, and Plato," could have said that the constitution of the Cretans was like that of the Spartans, whereas the actual conditions in Crete show them to be entirely opposed to each other.[1] It is not the Cretan measures and the Cretan dance of weapons, the Pyrrhic, which Thaletas subsequently brought from Gortyn to Sparta, nor the sacred functions traced to Minos, which the Cretan Epimenides of Cnossus imparted to the Ephor—not for any of these reasons were the Spartan laws asserted to have come from Crete, but because it was supposed that the laws of the Cretan cities came from Minos, and that Minos received them from Zeus.[2] If Sparta's laws came from Crete they came from Zeus. That such was the received opinion is clear from Aristotle. He repudiates the assertion that Lycurgus had been the disciple of Thaletas, for this was maintained without regard to dates.[3] Plutarch nevertheless relates that Lycurgus induced Thaletas to go to Sparta, and Thaletas smoothed the way thither for him with his songs.[4] At the same time Aristotle remarks that Lycurgus stayed longest in Crete, because the inhabitants of Lyctus were settlers from Laconia: these on their arrival had adopted the laws in force among the inhabitants, from whence it arises that those laws which emanated from Minos are observed to this day among the Periœci of Lyctus.[5] Lyctus, as we have seen, was

[1] Polyb. 6, 45, 46; and Wachsmuth, concerning this passage; *Gottinger G. A.*, 1870, p. 1814, ff. [2] *Odyss.* 19, 178.
[3] *Polit.* 2, 9, 5. [4] *Lycurg.* 4. [5] *Polit.* 2, 7, 1.

not a colony of the Lacedæmonians, but of the Achæans from the lower Eurotas; in the time of Lycurgus it was as little a Greek city as Gortyn: they neither of them became Achæan cities till after his death. Lycurgus, had he borrowed from Crete at all, need not have borrowed, as Aristotle says, from Lyctus; he might simply have done so from Cnôssus (pp. 322, 326), the only existing settlement of the Dorians of Argos on Crete at that time.

The whole contents of the tradition of Lycurgus, the narrative of Plutarch, which begins the account of his life by saying that with regard to Lycurgus nothing is free from doubt—all this shows that there was no existing knowledge of his personality, that only three points arising out of the ancient legend afforded support, and allowed of further amplification; these are the relations of Lycurgus to Delphi, his regency, and the borrowing of the laws from Crete. Here invention could add something. The response with which the Pythia in Herodotus receives Lycurgus, even before he has promulgated his laws—she hesitates whether to greet him as a man or as a god, but he was rather a god than a man—could manifestly not have been invented before a temple had been dedicated to Lycurgus at Sparta.[1] From this relation to Delphi, it was then further invented that Lycurgus, after the promulgation of his laws, had gone to Delphi, and when the god had told him that they would suffice for the weal of Sparta he had then put an end to his life. The oath of the Spartans before the departure of Lycurgus, and his death from self-denying patriotism,

[1] The two verses also, which the *Exc. Vat.* 1, from Diodorus, adds to the four hexameters of Herodotus are of later invention; Herod. 1, 65; Strabo, p. 366; Plut. *Lyc.* 31; Pausan. 3, 16, 6; *C.I.G.* No. 1256, 1341, 1342, 1350, 1364[b].

were to explain why the constitution of Sparta, dating from such an ancient period, had remained unchanged, as Plutarch says, for five hundred years, till the time of King Agis, son of Archidamus, and of Lysander.[1] Out of the regency of Lycurgus the lively fancy of the Greeks then invented all those traits which make him a pattern of conformity to law, unshaken loyalty, and self-sacrificing unselfishness and devotion, the model of a character in harmony with his voluntary death for his fatherland. He is king, but immediately descends to the position of a guardian, when he learns that his brother's widow is pregnant, and repels her tempting proposals; he announces to the Spartans that a king is born to them; he even resigns the regency in order to exclude all possibility of suspicion. This resignation is manifestly invented by the later tradition in order to bring Lycurgus to Crete before the promulgation of his laws. The journey is then again lengthened; later statements represent Lycurgus as travelling for his further political education to Ionia, to Egypt, and lastly—an addition which could not have been made until after Alexander's Indian expedition—even to the Gymnosophists of India. From the narrative of his adventures after his return to Sparta, we learn only the anachronism that Charilaus took refuge in the bronze house of Athena at Sparta; *i.e.* in the temple, which only became a bronze house in the sixth century, and the story of Lycurgus having his eye struck out in the insurrection of the rich against the Syssitia. This refers to a holy place dedicated to Athena-Optiletis on the citadel, the age of which permitted its founding to be ascribed to Lycurgus. The name Optiletis, which subsequently was no longer

[1] Plut. *Lyc.* 29, 30; *Lysander*, 17.

understood, contained an allusion no doubt to the keen glance of the goddess.[1]

In spite of all this, the legend of Lycurgus and his constitution contains a kernel of fact; it gives an important, indeed decisive turn, to the history of Sparta, which it not only reflects fantastically, but also distorts into a particular tendency. The various periods in which Lycurgus is placed must not mislead us, nor the circumstance that he is sometimes assigned to the house of the Agidæ and sometimes to that of the Eurypontidæ. Both these houses desired to claim the man who was said to have founded the constitution of Sparta. He naturally fell to that house which was at first alone in possession of the place—that of the Agidæ; he was placed as close as possible to the beginning of the state; Sparta must have received its unchanged and unchangeable constitution in the earliest times, in the second or third generation after its founding. As against this tendency of Spartan legend, as known to Herodotus, the opposite version of Ephorus, which places Lycurgus four generations later, in the times of Archelaus the Agid, and Charilaus the Eurypontid, seems more worthy of credit. If we hold to the tradition which places Lycurgus furthest back, the date at which he laid the foundation of the constitution named after him can be fixed in the last third of the ninth century. The first Messenian War, which began at latest in the year 730 B.C.,[2] was conducted by King Polydorus, of the house of the Agidæ. The predecessor of Polydorus

[1] *Supra*, p. 364; Plut. *Lyc.* 11; Pausan. 3, 18, 2; Muller, *Dorier*, 1, 397.

[2] It will be shown further on that this war began in 735. Its duration of twenty years is certified by Tyrtæus, and it must have ended in 710 at latest, since Tarentum had already been founded by the Parthenians in 708-7.

is King Alcamenes, who conquered the Achæans of Helus. His memory was preserved by the sanctuary of Zeus Tropæus, which was erected in gratitude for the entire conquest of the Achæans,[1] and the Spartan lists of the kings observed that during the reign of Alcamenes the first sacrifice was brought to Olympia.[2] The predecessor of Alcamenes was King Teleclus, the memory of whom, as already related, was kept alive by the festival of the Hyacinthia, connected with the taking of Amyclæ, the trophy over the Amyclæans, and the Heroum, which was dedicated to him alone of all the kings of Sparta. But the father of Teleclus is King Archelaus, under whom the reform was completed which bears the name of Lycurgus. The royal succession from him upwards is the less to be doubted as the catalogues of the Hellenes begin about the middle of the eighth century, and the fathers and grandfathers of the kings then reigning could not possibly be forgotten. The reign of Polydorus must accordingly be placed about 740 B.C., that of Alcamenes in 770 B.C., that of Teleclus in 800 B.C., that of Archelaus between 830 and 800 B.C., and the reign of Archelaus's contemporary Charilaus, of the house of Eurypon, must be fixed at the same time. We may place the more confidence in this account, as Thucydides has already told us that Sparta received good laws in very ancient times, and had been governed by the same constitution for more than four hundred years.[3] If these four hundred years and more are

[1] *Supra*, p. 345.

[2] *Supra*, p. 136. The tenth year of Alcamenes = 776, is calculated from the length of the reigns, which, in the case of Alcamenes, may have been remembered when the table was drawn up.

[3] *Supra*, p. 256. Gelzer, *Rhein. Mus.* 1873, p. 16, has compared the statements of the chronographers as to the date of Lycurgus.

reckoned from the end of the Peloponnesian War, they bring us to the year 804 B.C.; if from the peace of Nicias, to 821 B.C., and by the addition of a few years, we get the date 810 B.C., or 825 B.C., as the epoch when the foundations of a new constitution were laid in Sparta; foundations which thenceforth continued to exist.

Thucydides speaks neither of a tyranny which had been set aside by the constitution of Lycurgus nor of an unbridled democracy which had been abolished by it; he speaks only of the abolition of the discord in which Lacedæmon had found itself after the immigration of the Dorians, longer than any other state with which he was acquainted. It has been demonstrated above that this discord was caused by the existence of two Doric states in the region of the Eurotas—the dominion of the Agidæ (Eurysthidæ) on the middle Eurotas at Sparta, and the dominion of the Eurypontidæ (Proclidæ) in the upper valley of the Eurotas, on the Oenus. The conflict between these princely houses, striving to conquer each other,—this was the faction which divided the Dorians on the Eurotas, and hampered their advance against the Achæans of Amyclæ (p. 353).

Pausanias says, in his description of the city of the Tegeatæ, the neighbours of the Dorians in the region at the sources of the Oenus: "In the market-place at Tegea there is a figure of Ares, hewn on a memorial-stone, and called the guest of women. When Charilaus, the chief of the Lacedæmonians, marched against the Tegeatæ, the women of Tegea also took weapons and placed themselves in the background, near the hill which is now named Phylactris. When the armies charged one another, and there was much valiant and

memorable fighting on both sides, the women appeared; of whom Marpessa, named Chera, *i.e.* the widow, made the bravest resistance; and the women caused the Lacedæmonians to be put to flight. Thus the Tegeatæ, first of the Arcadians, conquered the Lacedæmonians."[1] But the women had offered a sacrifice to Ares for the victory, without the men, and had given them nothing from the altar; this is the origin of the name attributed to Ares. Among the votive offerings to Athena Alea at Tegea is the armour of Marpessa; in this temple was celebrated the festival of the Halotia (the taking of prisoners), for Charilaus was taken captive with other Spartans, but was again released without ransom, having sworn that the Lacedæmonians should never again attack the Tegeatæ, an oath which was not kept.[2]

[1] Pausan. 8, 48, 3.

[2] Pausan. 8, 47, 2; 8, 48, 4, 5. Pausanias places the battle after the deed of Echemus (8, 45, 3) in the time of King Æginetes of Arcadia, *i.e.* in the seventh generation after King Cypselus of Basilis, the contemporary of Temenus, Aristodemus, and Cresphontes (8, 5, 9). In another passage, however, where he gives the Spartan tradition (3, 73), and also in 8, 47, 2, he does not distinguish between this defeat and the second, after which the Spartans were fettered with their own chains, and obliged to dig the canal. The remembrance of the second defeat, which occurred in the sixth century, under the reigns of Eurycratidas and Leon (Pausan. 3, 3, 5), was preserved by the chains hanging up in the temple of Athena Alea, which Herodotus, as well as Pausanias, saw there, and by the statues consecrated at Delphi, which Pausanias mentions (10, 9, 6). Whether the festival of the Halotia refers to the first or second defeat, or to these conflicts generally, is doubtful. Herodotus (1, 66) speaks only of the second defeat; he says nothing of any participation of women, which would hardly have escaped him, or of the king of Sparta being taken prisoner. "They (the Spartans) would keep peace no longer, as they were now settled in a good land, and were numerous;" so Herodotus begins his narrative of this defeat. The enquiry of the oracle, whether the whole of Arcadia should become the portion of the Lacedæmonians, could not have been asked by Sparta before the Messenian wars. Herodotus follows his account of the defeat after long failure against Tegea by the history of Lichas at the time of Crœsus, and places the turn of the fortune of the war under the kings

The tradition of the Tegeatæ stands side by side with that of the Spartans, but is independent of it. Without implicitly believing in the imprisonment of the hostile king, which may probably have been added as an embellishment, we may certainly attribute some weight to this tradition, where it is supported by festivals and memorial tokens in the most famous temple of the canton, even if the monumental stone may date from a later time. At any rate, a moment in which the Dorians on the Oenus had suffered a severe defeat was calculated to awaken in them the thought of their dependence on the kindred and neighbouring state, and if the position threatened their destruction without the help of that state, it would thus bring about such dependence. Two commonwealths, which have long been at enmity, will hardly relinquish their strife unless force and necessity compel one of them to seek the other. If the prince of the northern state was really taken prisoner, if a regency for him were required and introduced, the application for assistance to the brother tribe was an easier step to take; and this circumstance rendered it possible to enter into negotiations unimpeded by the ancient hatred of the royal house. A regency lent itself more easily to the idea, not only of gaining immediate help but of putting an end for ever to the old hostility; of combining the power of the two states of the same race against their enemies in the north and in the south, and of fusing the two states into one commonwealth. It was the Tegeatæ who had overcome

Anaxandrides and Ariston. From the whole it is plain that he is treating of events in the sixth century. The Spartan tradition naturally only recognises one great defeat from the Tegeatæ, and accounted for this by the obscurity of the Delphic sentence; it knows nothing at all of the capture of one of their kings.

Charilaus; the tradition of the two royal houses, as we have received it from Pausanias, says that King Archelaus of the house of Agis subjugated the district of Ægys near the sources of the Eurotas, which held to the Arcadians, and that Charilaus helped him in the enterprise (*sup.* p. 350). We must no doubt recognise in this expedition of the southern community, the community of Sparta, to help the northern community on the Oenus, the beginning of the alliance, or the first-fruit of it. If the community was to last, the two commonwealths must henceforth be only one. But how was it possible to overcome the dualism and to make room for two princely houses in the same state? It could only happen if perfectly equal rights were secured to them; and if, in the event of their disagreement, the decision were assigned to a third authority standing between them. The Doric soldiers, who had been led into the region of the Eurotas by the ancestors of these princes, who had divided the conquered territories among them, and had had their lands tilled by their prisoners and the prisoners' descendants, gradually, after the settlement, assumed a more haughty attitude towards their princes than was usual among the less numerous noble families of the ancient time towards their rulers: the more so, as in their totality they formed the army from which the subjugated Achæans must be kept at a distance, and upon their readiness in arms rested the maintenance of the commonwealth, which was founded on force. The longer the petty war lasted on the Oenus against the Tegeatæ, and on the Eurotas against the Achæans of Amyclæ, the more common were feuds even between the two Doric states,—the stronger became the consciousness in the Doric soldiers that as everything rested on their shoulders it was fitting that they should

also share in and influence the decisions. The union of the two states could only be founded on the fraternisation of their army, and the army itself must have felt that in this union it not only became stronger against the enemy but against its kings—that their authority and power would be weaker if the kingdom were divided between two, and were no longer united in one hand. It was a double compromise which Lycurgus had to effect—between the two royal houses themselves, and between these and the ruling class to be united in the two communities.

To found a new commonwealth without the consent and sanction of the gods was in those times not to be thought of. We must therefore give full credence to the tradition that the man who had conceived and carried out the idea of the fraternisation and fusion of the two Doric states—Lycurgus, who certainly did not belong to the Agidæ, and probably not to the Eurypontidæ—sought higher sanction and confirmation for his designs and regulations. The reasons that might lead a Dorian to apply to Delphi, to the oracle of Apollo, have been already pointed out (p. 296). The directions enforced through the mouth of the Pythia and given to Lycurgus for his new constitution,[1] for the Synœcismus, and the union of the two states, ran as follows: "Build a temple to Zeus Hellanios and to Athena Hellania,[2] divide the tribes and make the Obes. Establish the Gerousia of the thirty with the founders thereof (Archegetæ), summon the people

[1] The verses of Tyrtæus, *Fragm.* 4, leave no doubt of this. Even in the end of the sixth century Cleisthenes availed himself of the co-operation of Delphi for the founding of his new Phylæ.

[2] The alternation in Pindar between Σελλοί (*Il.* 16, 234) and Ἑλλοί (Strabo, p. 328) makes it certain that Σελλάνιος is only the more ancient and stronger aspiration (*supra*, p. 24 f).

from month to month between Babyka and Knakion. There propose and withdraw,[1] for the people shall have the decision and power."[2]

In these words we possess the oldest record of Greek history; the most ancient record of a constitution which is known to any history. Subsequently noted down and placed, as we may suppose, at the head of the sentences of the Pythia, who in later times had to keep up relations with Delphi, Aristotle was acquainted with it, and Plutarch has preserved it for us.[3] It richly compensates us for the want of records as to the descent and personal history of Lycurgus.

The new constitution must necessarily be placed under the protection of new gods and receive a cult differing from the chief cults of both the states about to be abolished. It was the Hellenic Zeus and the Hellenic Athena whom the new commonwealth was to serve. Moreover, the tribes and their subdivisions must be settled. The division of the Dorians into three tribes, which had sprung up in the times of their battles and wanderings in the Peloponnesus, became confirmed by the organisation after the settlement;[4] it was based upon the division of the Doric people into Hylleis and Dymanes, and a third branch, composed of the warriors who formed alliance with them in those times of violence, cannot have been foreign to the Dorians on the Oenus and on the middle Eurotas. We find these three tribes in Argos and Sicyon, in Epidaurus and Ægina; the *Odyssey*

[1] If ἀφίστασθαι is not taken in this sense which is adopted by Gilbert (*Studien Altsp. Gesch.* p. 136), the addition of Theopompus has no meaning.

[2] Urlichs, *N. Rhein. Mus.* 6, 194; Bergk, *Griech. Litgesch.* 1, 419; Gilbert, *loc. cit.* p. 125.

[3] Plut. *Adv. Colot.* 17; *Lyc.* 6.

[4] *Supra*, p. 206.

ascribes them also to the Dorians of Cnossus in Crete. But the tribes on either side required to be combined, and subdivisions of them formed of somewhat similar strength; *i.e.* an equal number of families from several communities should be associated into one tribal gens, one corporation. In both cases, in the corporations of the tribes as in those of the Obes, new associates had accordingly to be combined into a permanent community. When the legend represents Lycurgus as summoning the thirty foremost men into the market-place in the early morning to begin the reform (p. 362 f), this signifies the thirty Obes, which he instituted (ten subdivisions in each tribe); when two men of these lack the courage to appear, and there are thus only twenty-eight, the two defaulters, as Plutarch already recognises, are the two kings, *i.e.* the two Obes, whose tribal heads were the kings; and when Hermippus mentions twenty out of the thirty by name, these can only be the names of heroes or tribal ancestors after whom the Obes were called, and through whose worship their members were united. Herodotus very distinctly gives the number of the Gerontes as twenty-eight, and including the two kings, thirty;[1] he follows the account of the Spartans (as we have seen above) in representing Theras as conducting them to Thera in three ships, each with thirty rowers; the three ships are the three tribes, the thirty rowers of each ship are the thirty Obes.[2]

[1] Herod. 6, 57.

[2] The description of the festival of the Carnea from Demetrius of Scepsis in Athenæus, p. 141, certainly gives only twenty-seven Phratriæ (or Obes), from the nine tents and nine men; but by this too much is proved as against thirty Obes, for it would be hard to understand why the two Obes of the kings should be excluded. The number of thirty Obes is fixed by "the Gerousia of the Thirty" in the Rhetra. The number of the five Ephors, which commonly recurs in special commis-

On this organisation of races was founded the organism of the new constitution. The supreme power in the state was to belong to the representatives of the thirty Obes. It was no longer to depend on the pleasure of the princes with whom they should take counsel or not. The councillors were pointed out to them once for all, and the kings were bound by the sentence of the council. This council of the ancients, the Gerontes, was the unity of the new state, the new king. But the two princes were not blindly to follow the sentences of the council; they were members of it, as born representatives of their two family clans;[1] they were the presidents of the great council, they conducted its proceedings. "Establish the Gerousia of thirty with the Archegetæ;" the kings were these chief leaders; the two kings who concluded the treaty, Archelaus the Agid and Charilaus the Eurypontid, were the Archegetæ, *i.e.* the founders of the new commonwealth.

At a moment of difficulty the principality of the Eurypontidæ on the Oenus had allied itself with the principality of the Agidæ in Sparta, which was probably

sions, is as little to be harmonised with the number of tribes and Obes as the numbers nine and twenty-seven, it is no doubt based upon the number of the five cantons. All this, and what may be inferred from Herodotus' mention of the φύλη of the Ægidæ, furnish but weak arguments against the three tribes and thirty Obes of Sparta. We might as reasonably deny the four ancient tribes of Attica from the number of the nine archons and the fifty-one Ephetæ.

[1] If it be urged against this that the two kings must have belonged to one tribal league as descendants of Heracles, the whole tribe of the Hylleis must on the same ground have constituted but one Obe. (The Agidæ and Eurypontidæ were only made descendants of Heracles after the time of Lycurgus, p. 355; moreover, according to the account of Polyænus, the Agidæ were made Heraclidæ at a later date than the Eurypontidæ.) Two royal houses are here in question of different origin and very different antecedents, whose descent from Heracles was asserted at the earliest in the second half of the eighth century.

stronger, and was at any rate less menaced at the time. The chief place of the principality of the Agidæ became the capital city of the combined states. The Eurypontidæ also took up their abode in Sparta. The Agidæ had hitherto no doubt had their dwelling on the hill which was the citadel of Sparta; at least we find the graves of the Agidæ at the foot of this hill; the Eurypontidæ had their burial-places in the south of the city of Sparta on the way towards Amyclæ. The habitation of the Agidæ lay, in the eighth century, south of the market situated below the citadel, on the road Aphetais; that of the Eurypontidæ, in the sixth century, a little farther to the south on the same road.[1] When the rhetra says: Establish the Gerousia with the Archegetæ, full light is thrown upon this sentence when we compare it with the following observation of Ephorus: Eurysthenes and Procles are neither called Archegetæ in Sparta, nor are their descendants called after them, nor have they the honours of founders. But not for the reasons given by Ephorus (p. 352) were Eurysthenes and Procles without the names and honours of founders, but simply because they had not founded the city of Sparta. The union was neither able nor desirous to prejudice the rights and honours of the new founders of the state and of the monarchy, further than the institution of the Gerousia, the supreme judicial court above both kings, and the decision of the community restricted them. There remained to the kings, without

[1] Wachsmuth, *Ursprung, loc. cit.* p. 3; Gilbert, *loc. cit.* pp. 60, 61. The Heroum of Astrabacus lay to the south, not far from the Amyclæan gate (Pausan. 3, 16, 4, 6); near this Heroum lay, according to Herodotus (6, 69) the dwelling of Ariston the Eurypontid. Xenophon's σισκηνεῖν signifies probably only the common table of the kings (*Hellen.* 5, 3, 20); in the Republic (*L. R.* 15, 6), however, mention is made of one house for the kings.

any limitation, the highest priesthood and the right of leadership in war; the honours which had belonged to the Agidæ and Eurypontidæ in their respective commonwealths were now given to them in common by all the members of the combined states. As representing the state before the gods a special service was incumbent on each of the royal houses; that of Zeus Lacedæmon and that of Zeus Uranius. The first, *i.e.* the worship of the god especially devoted to the city of Sparta (Lacedæmon) was assigned to the Agidæ as the house long established here; the second to the Eurypontidæ.[1] For the sacrifices that were to be regularly offered the king received every month two animals, a bushel of barley, and a quart of wine, and out of every litter in the country one sucking pig, that beasts for sacrifice should never be wanting. They first poured libations, they led the games at the sacrifices, had the chief seat at the sacrificial feasts, and received a double share as the portion of honour. The skins of all the animals that were sacrificed throughout the land were allotted to them; in time of war they claimed the back—the honourable portion—of all the animals then offered as sacrifices.[2] For the revenues of the princes, the Periœci, *i.e.* the Achæans who had become subjects but had retained the freedom of their persons and property, had regularly to provide out of their lands, and to furnish the royal tribute.[3] The judgments on crimes, and capital sentences on members of the ruling class, were passed by the kings in concert with the Gerontes; the verdict on property belonged to the kings alone; in all questions of family rights

[1] Herod. 6, 56; Gilbert, *loc. cit.* p. 64. [2] Herod. 6, 56.
[3] Platon. *Alcib.* 1, p. 122. By the Lacedæmonians who pay tribute to the kings are evidently to be understood the Periœci.

and inheritance, and of adoption, the kings alone passed judgment. Even in much later times heiresses married according to their decision.[1] They had a supervision over their subjects, and gave judgment in their causes, or else appointed representatives for this purpose. They represented the state in its foreign relations, selected and appointed those who were sent as ambassadors to other countries, and decided on peace or war.[2] Surrounded by a host of picked warriors, the three hundred horsemen (the number corresponds with the three tribes and the thirty Obes, and these knights at that time really fought on horseback), they marched to the field of battle. They commanded absolutely in regard to the movements of the army, and in the field had the power of life and death; the chief share of the booty fell to them.[3] These are rights and privileges attributed by the Homeric poems to the kings of the Achæan period, and belonging to the kings of the Ionian cities, when these poems were composed. If the Homeric poems show us that the kings transferred their jurisdiction to Gerontes,[4] the kings of Sparta had in the Gerousia definite councillors pointed out to them, with whom they had to deliberate on difficult cases. Even the honours which were paid to the Spartan kings at their death were derived from antiquity. Not as men, but as heroes, says Xenophon, were the kings of Sparta mourned.[5] Women playing on cymbals announced to the city, and riders sent along all the roads, to the country, the decease of the king. In every house of the Spartans a man and a woman were obliged to perform the funeral rites. Periœci and

[1] Xenoph. *Resp. Lac.* 15, 6. [2] Herod. 6, 56, 57; *Resp. Lac.* 15. [3] Thucyd. 5, 66, 72; Aristot. *Pol.* 3, 9, 2, 3. [4] *Il.* 18, 497 ff. [5] *Resp. Lac.* 15

Helots were required to present themselves in Sparta in the prescribed number (it amounted to several thousands) to bewail the death of the king with cries and beating of their faces, and to praise the virtues of the departed ruler. The market-place under the citadel, which held four thousand people, was covered with chaff and closed, so that no buying or selling could be carried on. This time of mourning, during which also no public business was allowed to be undertaken, lasted ten days. The eldest son born of a Spartan woman in lawful marriage, followed the dead king. The accession to the throne was celebrated with sacrifices and choric dances as a feast throughout the country.[1]

How the Obes were represented in the Gerousia we do not know, but it is clear that in the same manner that each of the two Obes of the royal houses was represented in that council by the two kings, so was each of the remaining Obes represented there. After the analogy of the royal houses it must have been the heads of the families of the Obes, the heads of the oldest or first families in them, which, as such, were allowed to enter the Gerousia. This was the form of entrance most usual in ancient times; it is also possible, however, that several heads of families united in the Obe consulted together as to their representative in the Gerousia, and chose him. It is certain that the representative retained his place to the end of his life. The kings conducted the proceedings in the Gerousia, but they had only one vote each, like the other Gerontes; if they were absent from the army, in the field, they transferred their vote to the councillor who

[1] Thucyd. 5, 16; Herod. 6, 58; Heracl. Pont. *Fragm.* 2, Ed. Muller.

stood nearest them.[1] The whole conduct of the state was concentrated in the council which, with the kings, formed also the highest court of justice; before which charges of murder were to be brought; which pronounced upon life or death; before which the Spartans preferred their complaints about violence and injury; to which belonged the punishment of crimes against the commonwealth.[2]

The Gerousia, however, was not the final court of appeal. Whatever resolution had been taken for the commonwealth by the kings with the council of the elders, the confirmation or repudiation of it depended, according to the constitution of Lycurgus, upon the whole body of the now united armies of both principalities,—on the collective ruling class of the new state. We see in the Homeric poems that the princes assemble the army in the camp, and the people in the market-place; they address the assembly to discover their opinion, and the multitude answers with assenting or dissenting cries; but the prince is not bound by the result of this appeal, if he is otherwise in a position to carry out his will. The rhetra of Lycurgus advances a considerable step further, it says: "Call them together from month to month between Babyka and Knakion, and propose and withdraw, for decision and power shall be with the people." Accordingly, it was now the duty of the rulers to call the people, *i.e.* the ruling class, together regularly every month (ὥρας ἐξ ὥρας): the Achæan subjects were not taken into consideration; these were governed by the kings, or overseers appointed by them. Even the place of the

[1] Herod. 6, 57; Thucyd. 1, 20. What Aristotle says as to the manner of electing the Gerontes (*Pol.* 5, 5, 8) belongs to the reform of the sixth century.

[2] Aristot. *Polit.* 3, 1, 7; Plut. *Lyc.* 26

assembly is prescribed; it must be definitely settled; for the members of two hitherto divided communities have to be assembled, "between Babyka and Knakion." Babyka is the older name for the Tyasa, which, descending from Mount Taygetus, falls into the Eurotas south of Sparta;[1] Knakion is the older name for the Oenus, which descends from Mount Parnon and falls into the Eurotas north of the city; thus the region extending north and south from the circumference of the city to these rivers was declared to be the legitimate place for the assembly of the ruling class. The regular summons at each full moon (the full moon was regarded by the Spartans as the favourable time) gave to the ruling class the feeling of coherence, and the authority ascribed to their assembly imparted a strong interest in the maintenance of the new unity. It now possessed a fixed position as against the princes; this assembly it was which had to speak the final decisive word. The soldiers of both states were united into one commonwealth, by whose vote the princes were bound. The first aristocracy in Hellas was founded; each man of Doric race (who had passed his thirtieth year, if this limitation was then already in force) had the right to vote in the assembly.[2] The kings seem to have conducted the assembly of the ruling class, and to have brought forward and given reasons for the resolutions of the Gerontes. Only the kings or the Gerontes, according to the ancient custom, appear to have spoken before the assembly; even in later times this was permitted to the kings and ambassadors alone. The assembly replied, as of old, with assenting or dissenting cries. If the will of the sovereign people was not clearly discernible from the voices for and

[1] Gilbert, *loc. cit.* p. 133. [2] Plut. *Lyc.* 26.

against the proposals of the Gerousia, the kings made the assembled members divide—those in favour of the proposal passing to one side of the place of meeting, and those against it to the other.[1]

Lycurgus had accomplished much. The opposition and feuds of the two princely houses—the two communities—translated by tradition into the lawlessness and anarchy of Sparta in ancient times—which, carried on with the Achæan slaves, the subjugated Achæans, the Periœci, the Achæans of Amyclæ, and the Arcadians of Tegea, threatened their very existence, were healed. The double monarchy was founded. The two princes thenceforward ruled in common over the double community; what their position had lost in authority it had gained in the extent of its sphere of power. They were subordinated to the decisions of the council, the ruling assembly; but they had retained the full sacerdotal and civil rights and honours, and considerable privileges as to government and the administration of justice. The claims of the ruling class were satisfied by the constitution of the Gerousia, the regular summons to the assembly, and by their casting vote. The new state was withdrawn from the leadership of one man and one will; it was transferred to the hands of a totality which was organised for that purpose. A commonwealth made its appearance in history, the arrangement and future of which essentially depended on the support of the qualified portion of its members.

Lycurgus is the founder of the Spartan state. From the brink of destruction on which the small commonwealths found themselves in consequence of their divisions, and also of pressure from without, he had saved them; he knew how to meet this danger,

[1] Thucyd. I, 79, 87.

as well as to secure by union the maintenance of the Doric dominion over the subjects of both districts. Lycurgus created a constitution which now grew up among neighbours in the north and south, whose incursions must each time call the Periœci and Helots to arms. When he founded the double monarchy he caused it to make a compromise with the immigrant soldiers, who would no longer unconditionally obey their commanders. The divided monarchy must share the government of the state with the Gerontes, and the legislation with the ruling class. This limitation of the monarchy was the means of its preservation, the guarantee of its continuance in Sparta. "The restriction of the dominion of the kings," *says Aristotle*, "has for an inevitable consequence its greater continuance and stability; the kings themselves, bound by the law, are less despotic, and in their demeanour more equal with the rest, and less envied by their subjects; so that the limitation of the kingly power does not diminish that power, but in a certain manner rather elevates and strengthens it.[1] The limitation of the monarchy which Lycurgus carried out in Sparta was at the same time the foundation of the first self-governing commonwealth in Hellas, the first in all history, though its *freedom rested, no doubt, upon a very broad basis of* servility and oppression. To have won new ground, to have laid new foundations, is sufficient for the task of one man's life. That which is ascribed to Lycurgus over and above this, later generations have added to the original substratum. It can scarcely, however, have escaped him that, with the rights assigned to the ruling class, its duties were likewise increased, and that after its interest had been blended with that of the

[1] *Polit.* 5, 9, 1.

state, it was then for its part bound to render more zealous service to the commonwealth than before.

With the continuance and growth of the new commonwealth grew the task of the after legend; for, as it passed further and further from its origin, it became proportionately difficult to represent the commonwealth as having long existed, from antiquity onwards, and to dispel the remembrance of the long opposition which had held the two houses, the two states, apart, the two houses must now be descended from one tribal ancestor: their progenitors must have been twins of scarcely distinguishable age. The legend of Rome also has associated Remus with Romulus for the sake of favouring the double office introduced there after the fall of the monarchy. In spite of the invention of the twins the tradition of Sparta did not succeed in effacing all trace of the ancient enmity.

The arrangement of the army, which is attributed to Lycurgus, as well as that of the constitution, and is especially brought forward by Herodotus (p. 357), the supposed partition of the land, the discipline and training of youth (p. 363), we have had occasion to assign to later times, for reasons already given (p. 367), to which other and more weighty reasons will be added later on. Even the institution of the Syssitia does not belong to Lycurgus. It was an ancient custom of princes and nobles, the Homeric poems tell us, to enjoy themselves in common at meals. In the time of the migrations and conquests, when the victory was not decided by the combats of the best warriors but by the army, there were formed during a long period of war by the Dorians in Laconia and in Crete, and afterwards by the Achæans in Crete, brotherhoods of arms, the members of which stood side by side in

battle, encamped and feasted together in the field, and in times of peace desired to live together and to share in common repasts, the supplies for which were furnished by the contributions of companions.

It is more difficult to estimate the worth of another tradition. Athenæus tells us: It is unanimously asserted that Lycurgus, with Iphitus the Elean, held the first recorded celebration of the Olympic games.[1] In Plutarch we read: "Some say that Lycurgus flourished contemporaneously with Iphitus (of Elis), and settled with him the Olympic sacred armistice. Among these is Aristotle, the philosopher. He alleges, in proof of the assertion, the quoit at Olympia, on which the name of Lycurgus has been preserved in the inscription; but others who, with Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, compute the time by the succession of the Spartan kings, place him much earlier than the first Olympiad." "Among the votive offerings in the temple of Hera at Olympia," says Pausanias, "is the quoit of Iphitus. On this is inscribed the truce which the Eleans proclaim at the Olympic games, not straight across, but the letters are engraved in the circle round the quoit."[2] Phlegon of Tralles, who in the reign of Hadrian compiled a catalogue of the victors in the Olympic games, relates in the introduction: "Discord reigned in the Peloponnesus; then Lycurgus the Lacedæmonian, son of King Prytanis, Iphitus the Elean, son of Hæmon, and Cleosthenes of Pisa, son of Cleonicus, resolved to restore concord and peace, to institute anew the Olympic festival according to ancient usage, and to hold gymnastic contests. In reply to their enquiry at Delphi, the god gave a favourable response, and commanded them to proclaim the armistice to the states

[1] Athenæus, p. 635. [2] Pausan. 5, 20, 1.

who desired to take part in the games. This was made known in Hellas, and the quoit was inscribed with the names of the Hellanodicæ, according to which the Olympic games were to be held. But the Peloponnesians were not inclined to the proposal, and it was only when Zeus had smitten them with pestilence and scarcity, and Lycurgus with his associates had sought counsel at Delphi for the averting of the evil, and had received for answer that the Peloponnesians had despised the Olympia of Zeus, the ruler of all, and when the Peloponnesians themselves had enquired, and resolved, according to the sentence of the seer of the Eleans, to sacrifice at the altar, that they enjoined the Eleans to hold the Olympic games and to proclaim the armistice to the cities.[1]

The sacrifice afterwards offered by all the Hellenes in common, on the Alpheus, not far below the mountain pass called Olympus, was derived from the ancient worship which the inhabitants of this region, the Pisatæ, here offered to Zeus and Hera. When this district was taken from the Pisatæ by the Eleans (p. 212)—we cannot fix the time of the advance of the Eleans from the Peneus upon the Pisatæ very accurately, perhaps it may only have occurred under King Iphitus himself—the Eleans continued or revived the ancient worship in this place, as Ephorus distinctly assures us.[2] The first recorded victor at the games held by the Eleans, which followed the sacrifice, belongs to the festival of 776 B.C. It scarcely admits of a doubt that this

[1] Phlegon, *Fragm.* 5, Ed. Muller. Already Plato or his editor has this tradition before him (*Laws*, p. 686); Pausanias likewise (5, 4; 5, 6) follows it.

[2] *Fragm.* 15, Ed. Muller; Xenoph. *Hellen* 3, 2, 21. If the sacrifice had not originated with the Pisatæ, they could not have advanced a claim to conduct it.

catalogue originated in the greater importance which the festival had attained, either just at that time or a little before, through the participation of other tribes besides the Eleans. The armistice signifies the engagement entered into by the cantons taking part in the sacrifice at Olympia, not to attack, or injure by the marching through of armies, the territory of the Eleans during the festival.[1] This is the Olympic truce which the Eleans had to announce to the participators in the festival. The narrative of Phlegon repeats the legend, and even the Delphic view of it, which represents the sacrificial festival at Olympia as an ancient festival held by the Peloponnesians in common, from of old. Lycurgus, Iphitus, and Cleosthenes now renewed, with the countenance indeed and help of the god of Delphi, that which before them Peisus (the tribal hero of the Pisatæ), Pelops, and Heracles had instituted, but which had afterwards fallen into neglect and disuse. Taught by adversity and by the sentences of the god, the Peloponnesians submit, and confide the holding of the festival and the proclamation of the armistice to the Eleans.

All that we know or can deduce respecting the conditions of the Peloponnesus in the tenth and ninth centuries forbids the supposition that the sacrifice at Olympia was raised by an act of the cantons of the Peloponnesus to a common sacrifice. But this does not invalidate the statement that an agreement between the king of the Eleans, Iphitus, the descendant of Oxylus, and the commonwealth of Sparta, laid the foundation of this common sacrifice. The time of the institution of a common sacrifice and common competitive games is fixed in the year 776 B.C. This epoch would not be irreconcilable with the theory of

[1] Thucyd. 5, 49

the date of Lycurgus, which we found to be probable (*suprà*), and fixes his activity about the year 825 or 810 B.C., supposing the treaty with Iphitus were placed at the end of Lycurgus' life; that version which represents him as having died in Elis (p. 366) had this standpoint in view. Even the circumstance that Iphitus is said to have gone to Delphi as early as the year 756 B.C.[1] would not be a serious contradiction to the tradition that the Olympic sacrifice was instituted by Lycurgus and Iphitus; and, on the other hand, this tradition seems to receive certain confirmation from the fact reported by Aristotle, that the name of Lycurgus was upon the quoit in the Heræum at Olympia, on which the text of the armistice was inscribed. This, however, cannot be maintained. It is at any rate striking that a commonwealth arising like Sparta out of bitter discord and severe difficulties, should have allied itself with a canton lying far from its borders and separated from it by hostile tribes, for the offering of a common sacrifice. And it causes us still greater surprise to find that Lycurgus, who appears in none of the different versions of the legend as the sole head of Sparta, should have negotiated in place of the two Spartan kings with the king of the Eleans; even in the year 421 B.C. the two kings of Sparta, as first in rank, swore to the treaty concluded with Athens;[2] and a statue set up at Olympia in the first half of the fifth century shows Iphitus wreathed by the *ἐκεχειρία*, but not Lycurgus.[3] It is very significant that among all the victors in the Stadium at Olympia from the year 776 to 716 B.C., consequently for sixty years, no Spartan is to be found; whereas in the sixty years following the year we have mentioned, nine Spartans conquered

[1] Phlegon, *Fragm.* 1, Ed. Muller. [2] Thucyd. 5, 24. [3] Pausan 5, 10, 10.

in the course, and besides these, in the same period, five or six more carried off the victory in other contests. In the first forty of these sixty years (from 776 to 736 B.C.) seven Messenians are chronicled, with several Eleans and one Achæan. This looks as if the Eleans had at first combined with their immediate neighbours to the north and south of the Alpheus, the Messenians and Achæans, for common sacrifice and games, and that the Olympic festival had gradually extended itself by natural means. And when we find that the Spartans between the years 767 and 745 B.C. rendered the Eleans an important service, that it was by the assistance of Sparta that the Eleans regained the shrine of Olympia and the right of offering this sacrifice which had been taken from them, we seem justified in concluding that the Spartans only from that time, *i.e.* from the year 744 B.C., had become their allies. Then, moreover, after Sparta had overthrown and annihilated Messenia, and consequently excluded it from participation in this festival; after Sparta, after the end of the first Messenian war, had zealously joined in the contests at Olympia, the tradition of Sparta had an interest in causing the share of the Messenians in the games to be forgotten, and in taking from them the merit of having founded, with the Eleans, the festival that had grown into a national sacrifice. Thus it may have happened that Sparta inserted itself in the place of the conquered; and when all particular institutions had been traced to Lycurgus, he might then be credited with the union of Sparta with Elis—and with the founding of the sacrificial feast of the Hellenes.[1]

[1] The later admission of Sparta is no doubt founded upon the legend in Hermippus, that Lycurgus had at first avoided the Olympia, and was only induced by a miraculous portent to join in them; *Fragm.* 5, Muller.

But the name of Lycurgus on the quoit in the temple of Hera in Olympia? We cannot maintain that this quoit cannot date from the time of Iphitus, *i.e.* the year 776 B.C., because the Greeks were then still ignorant of writing; writing came into use among the Hellenes somewhere after the year 800. But Pausanias has already told us that the quoit did not contain a treaty between Sparta and Elis, but the formula of the armistice. If, in addition to this, the name of Lycurgus was also mentioned, we may suppose that the quoit with the name of Lycurgus and the terms of the armistice was a later votive offering of the Spartans in the temple of Hera, to which in the sixth century they *had brought numerous and considerable gifts.*[1]

[1] Pausan. 5, 17; 1, 2. If Pausanias (5, 4, 6), in the *ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ*, had referred to the discus of Iphitus, Iphitus would have been mentioned there as the son of Hæmon; but as he quotes in opposition to this epigram the *ἀρχαῖα γράμματα* of the Eleans, which described Iphitus as the son of Iphitus, the epigram of the statue of Mycithus must have been intended.

CHAPTER X.

THE CONQUEST OF AMYCLÆ AND THE ORGANISATION OF MILITARY AFFAIRS.

THE union of the two Doric commonwealths in the district of the Eurotas under the double monarchy, and the increase of strength induced by this union, bore their natural fruit. Even under the princes whom we must regard as the first kings actually reigning together in Sparta, Archelaus of the house of Agis, and Charilaus of the house of Eurypon, the heavy blow which the commonwealth on the Oenus had received from the Tegeatæ, in which, as we conjectured, lay the occasion and the pressing necessity for the union, had been repaired. From the Arcadians had been taken the district of Ægys, and the territory about the sources of the Eurotas, by the common victories of Archelaus and Charilaus—this is expressly dwelt upon by the tradition.[1] The successors of Archelaus and Charilaus, Teleclus and Nicander, achieved still more. The Achæans in the lower half of "hollow Lacedæmon," governed by the posterity of Philonomus, who had adopted into their community the emigrant Minyæ from Attica, were overcome; Amyclæ fell; the inhabitants of the Achæan cities farther to the south, Geronthræ

[1] *Supra*, pp. 348, 349. The Spartans open the attack upon Messenia by the occupation of Amphea. This could only have happened if the territory of Ægys already belonged to them.

and Pharis (the sites of which are distinguished by the remains of dome-shaped burial-places like those at Mycenæ, Orchomenus, and Pharsalus; pp. 46, 47), are said to have left the country under the terms of a treaty. "The Amyclæans," says Pausanias, "resisted for a long time, and performed glorious deeds in battle." In the war against the Amyclæans, says Aristotle, the Spartans had received the command of the oracle at Delphi to make the Ægidæ their allies in battle; upon this they had sent and fetched the Ægidæ from Thebes. Timomachus, who was at the head of Ægidæ, had set in order the military concerns of the Spartans. Pindar sings: "Didst thou not, happy Thebes, rejoice in thy soul when thou didst set the Doric colony of the Lacedæmonians on firm foundations, when thy sons the Ægidæ, in obedience to the Pythian oracle, took Amyclæ?"[1] The legend relates: Through false reports of the approach of the Spartans, the Amyclæans were so often disquieted that they made a law against the raising of false alarms. And when the Spartans were really approaching, no one dared to announce it early enough: so that the city was overthrown by its own law.[2]

This was a great success which the united state had gained about the year 800 B.C.[3] The Spartans set up a monument of the victory which, as Pausanias says, gave evidence that "Sparta in those times had accomplished no deed more memorable."[4] They honoured the memory of King Teleclus, under whom Amyclæ had been taken, by consecrating an altar to him, and to him alone of all the kings of Sparta heroic

[1] Pind. *Isth.* 7, 18, and the *Scholia* on Aristotle's *Polity of the Lacedæmonians*.
[2] *Supra*, p. 375.
[3] Servius, *ad Æneid.* 10, 564.
[4] Pausan. 3, 15, 7.

honours were paid. Alcamenes, the son of Teleclus, completed the conquest of the Eurotas valley; he took possession of the plain, by the coast below the falls of the Eurotas and the town of Helus, which ruled over that plain. This also had been no light conflict. The Minyæ from Mount Taygetus and Mount Tænarum supported the Heleans, and Argos joined in the battle against Sparta from the other side. The kings of Argos ruled over the whole east coast down to Cape Malea, and the island of Cythera belonged to them (p. 319). If the Spartans pressed forward to the mouth of the Eurotas, Argos might well fear that it would be no longer possible to maintain the peninsula of Mount Parnon against them. The Argives are said to have been defeated. This is the origin of the hatred between Argos and Sparta, which Spartan tradition represents as having begun in the time of Prytanis, son of Eurypon. The participation of the other king, Nicander, of the house of Eurypon, who ruled beside Teleclus and Alcamenes, in the conflicts at Amyclæ and Helus, receives no mention, but an invasion of the territory of the Argives is attributed to him.[1] When the Achæans had been completely subjugated, when their last city Helus had fallen about the year 770 B.C., the Spartans erected a temple in their city to Zeus Tropæus, *i.e.* to Zeus the averter of enemies.[2]

The subjugation of Amyclæ, the overthrow of Pharis and Geronthræ, the conquest of Helus, were followed by those emigrations of the "people of Philonomus," of the Achæans, and later on of the Minyæ, who maintained themselves longest beside the Heleans on Mount Taygetus. The Achæans under Crataidas occupied, as we have seen, the island of Melos, and

[1] Pausan. 3, 7, 4. [2] Pausan. 3, 12, 9.

planted themselves under Pollis and Delphus beside the Dorians who had colonised Cnossus, at Gortyn and Lyctus in Crete (pp. 339, 340). After the fall of Helus, part of the Minyæ migrated to Thera, and another portion to the west coast of the Peloponnesus. This portion turned against the Caucones and Paroreatæ, who dwelt south of the mouth of the Alpheus on the coast, and among the mountains on the frontier of Arcadia, drove out some of these ancient populations, and founded here six commonwealths, of which Macisthus, between the mouth of the Alpheus and Mount Lapithus, and Lepreum, between that mountain and the mouth of the Neda, the boundary river of Messenia, were the most important. After the settlement of the Minyæ, this territory was called, from the three tribes that now dwelt there side by side, Triphylia.[1]

The efforts made by Spartan tradition to be able to represent Sparta from the very first as ruler of the whole valley of the Eurotas, to turn the battles of the Minyæ into rebellions against the Spartans after the reception of the Minyæ into the Spartan commonwealth, to place the emigration of the Achæans and Minyæ under Spartan leadership, and to stamp their settlements anew as colonies of Sparta, have been disclosed above (p. 343). The pretexts for these inventions were found in the following facts: that the Achæans of Pharis and Geronthræ left the Eurotas valley according to agreement; that subsequently, towards the end of the eighth century, the so-called Parthenians emigrated *in consequence of a treaty*; and that the emigration of the Dorians in the sixth century took place under analogous circumstances. Even in

[1] Herod. 4, 148. It is clear from the name Triphylia that neither the Caucones nor the Paroreatæ were entirely driven out.

the third Messenian War, the Helots were allowed to withdraw in safety with their wives and children, on condition that they did not again enter the Peloponnesus. In other cases also Spartan tradition has not hesitated to ascribe to its state colonies in which it had no share.[1]

The cults of the Achæans of Amyclæ were, according to the invariable custom of the Hellenes, adopted and continued. No Hellenic tribe would have believed itself secure in possession of a conquered territory if it did not honour the deities of that territory. More zealous service of new worshippers would and must cause these deities to forget their ancient devotees who had been driven out. Apollo, whom the Achæans of Amyclæ had regarded as their divine protector, was worshipped by the Spartans in this his ancient sanctuary. Here they celebrated to him, for three days towards the end of their month Hecatombæus, the feast of the Hyacinthia, during which the bronze armour of Timomachus was brought forth in remembrance of his services at the fall of Amyclæ.[2] It is certain that the Spartans held this festival and competitive contests connected with it before the end of the eighth century.[3] The festival itself concerned the beautiful young Hyacinthus, beloved by Apollo, who was inadvertently killed by him by the throwing of a quoit. We saw that this image of the budding spring which is slain by the warm rays of the summer sun—the disc of the sun—was a form of the Adonis worship which the Phœnicians had once brought to the shore of the Laconic Gulf (p. 60 f.). The first day of the

[1] Croton and Locri were also said to be colonies of Sparta; Pausan. 3, 3, 1.
[2] *Schol.* Pind. *Isth.* 7, 18.
[3] This is shown by the story of the Parthenians.

feast was devoted to lamentations for Hyacinthus, to the offerings and funeral feasts of the dead;[1] the second began with a great procession from Sparta to Amyclæ; those who took part in the festival were joyfully crowned with ivy, a pæan was sung to Apollo, a garment woven by Spartan women was offered, and beasts were slain in sacrifice; then followed the festal banquet, and contests with the quoit and in the race.[2] The temple of Apollo was, next to that of Athena on the citadel of Sparta, the most magnificent in the country.[3] Before, or simultaneously with, the fall of Amyclæ, the Spartans on the other bank of the Eurotas had become masters of Therapne, the ancient citadel of the Achæans, the abode of the Dioscuri, as tradition says, *i.e.* a place for the worship of the Dioscuri; and at the same time masters of the burial-places of Menelaus and Helen, *i.e.* of the holy place of Helen, a goddess of light as her name tells us, who as a spirit of light, herself of great beauty, bestows beauty.[4] The Spartans adopted this worship also. No type of their still new union, their double monarchy, could be more welcome than that of the two warlike youths—the swift spirits of the morning light, united in brother hood, bringing help,—victorious. The ancient representation of the Dioscuri is said to have consisted in two upright posts joined together by two cross pieces of wood.[5] They celebrated the Helenia to Helen at the same time with the Hyacinthia. The Spartans brought children into her sanctuary that the goddess

[1] Pausan. 3, 19, 3; Athenæus, p. 139.
[2] Xenoph. *Agesil.* 2, 17; Strabo, p. 278; Pausan. 3, 16, 2.
[3] Polyb. 5, 19.
[4] *Supra*, pp. 169, 177. *Infra*, p. 447. Herod. 6, 61. Pausan. 3, 19, 9; 3, 14, 9; 3, 13, 9; 3, 20, 2.
[5] Plut. *de Fraterno Amore*, 1.

might give them beauty; those with whom she was displeased were allowed to see the light no longer; they became blind.[1] Of the legends of the Achæans of Laconia and of their ancient times, nothing has remained to us except the stories of Helen and her brothers the Dioscuri, with the forms which are given to the latter as well as to their sister.

With the conquest of Amyclæ and the acquisition of the plains near the sea, the dominion of the newly-united commonwealth of Sparta was doubled. Of the subjugated inhabitants, part of the Achæans and the whole of the Minyæ had left the country. When the Dorians had first settled in the region of the upper Eurotas, as much land was taken from the conquered people as their conquerors deemed desirable, and these portions the conquerors had then divided among themselves; colonisation on the basis of conquest cannot be carried out in any other way, and no other method has ever been adopted. This was the case with every fresh arrangement of colonies, and it continued to be the custom of the Greeks to divide the lands won by conquest among the citizens of the conquering state. In what manner the Dorians carried out the division of land in their first settlements we do not know. That it was carried out is beyond question. Even tradition shares this view. In the books of the laws it is brought forward as an advantage that at the founding of Argos, Messenia, and Laconia, the land could be divided without opposition.[2] Isocrates represents Archidamus as saying (p. 201), "Your ancestors concluded a treaty with the Heraclidæ and confirmed it with an oath, that those who followed them into the Peloponnesus should

[1] Herod. 6, 61; Isocr. *Hel. Enc.* p. 218; Plato, *Phædr.* p. 243; Hesych. Ἑλένια.
[2] *Laws*, p. 684, 736.

possess the land in common, but that to themselves the monarchy should belong; on this the expedition was begun." Ephorus tells us, as we have already seen, that the district of Amyclæ, promised to Philonomus in accordance with this promise, at first remained unapportioned, but was afterwards divided by the Heraclidæ, till Philonomus came with the Lemnians and himself undertook the division of it among his people (p. 338). After the conquest of Amyclæ and Helus, the lands of these cities, the lower half of "hollow Lacedæmon" and the entire lower valley of the Eurotas, remained at the disposal of the conquerors. How could Sparta have helped dividing the conquered territory, abandoned for the most part by its inhabitants? Who would, or could, have kept back from the soldiers who had so long fought for it, the reward of the hard conflict? Could the two recently united commonwealths be better cemented than by assigning the members of both to this territory, and here providing equally for them all? The domain of Sparta, having now been doubled, the number of her subjects, the Periœci and Helots, *i.e.* the portion of the ancient population who had been made slaves, had likewise been increased. In order to keep these in obedience and to maintain the new conquest, the ruling class were commanded to hold themselves in readiness for war in as great numbers as possible. "Few against many," says Thucydides, the Dorians had conquered the valley of the Eurotas. There was need of all in whose veins flowed Doric blood, when the Periœci and the Helots, the *δουλεία*, that is, the portion of the ancient population that had been enslaved, took upon them to rebel against their masters.[1] From this arose the duty of the

[1] Thucyd. 5, 23; 4, 126.

commonwealth to maintain, or place the members of the ruling class in a condition to render military service collectively. Thus it happened that house and home were left without care for wives and children, that military schooling and practice could take place, that equipments could be provided. Was it likely that the means for such resources lying at the feet of men should not be seized, or that they should be purposely spurned? We cannot doubt that all the families of the ruling classes, those who were wealthy and those who were not, had a hide of arable land, garden, and vineyard assigned to them in the lower Eurotas valley. Polybius says very definitely: All citizens of Sparta must have an equal share, and equal possessions in the land of the commonwealth.[1] The land of the state or of the commonwealth, the possession of the community, is the land conquered by the arms of the state.

The hides of land apportioned to all families of the ruling class in the conquered territory were not to be tilled by themselves. The Helot families dwelling or newly settled there were obliged to render up a certain part of the produce—Tyrtæus tells us, "half the fruit of the ground"—to the lords of the soil. If the allotments were measured as equally as possible, the halves of the produce would also be pretty nearly equal. The more clearly the common interest of all was made evident in what was conquered and what was gained, the more unanimous and forward would be the ruling class in the service of the state: the interest of its members in the state must increase in proportion as the stamp of a common possession was impressed upon what had been won, and thereby on all that was yet to be won. By the allotment of equal portions each family, moreover,

[1] Polyb. 6, 46.

received sufficient support, so that none of the ruling class was obliged to descend to peasant work, and thus perhaps to the peasant disposition. Such a possession placed each Doric family in a position to live for military exercise, and at any moment, without injury to household economy, to march to the field of battle. When equal political rights had been given to all the members of the ruling class they also attained an approximately equal economic and social rank. They all had the power of leading the life of nobles, though always in moderate circumstances, if only the hides were large enough for half the produce to maintain a family in plenty. The amount of produce being once fixed, it was not allowed either to increase or diminish it, for this would have been unadvisable.[1] The Helots settled on the lands had been won by a common conflict: they belonged to the state; it would have been against the state's interest, it would have imperilled the obedience of the Helots, if the Helot families on some hides had been favoured and treated with greater mildness (a course of conduct which landholders otherwise wealthy might have been disposed to pursue), and on others had been ill used and oppressed by their masters.

The share of the kings in these spoils of war consisted in choice pieces of land, assigned to them in the fields of the Periœci.[2] The interests of the state urgently required that provision for the ruling class should be made permanent. The skill of its members in the manufacture of weapons, their availability for military service, their readiness to respond to the summons, fully equipped—all depended upon this; precepts for the maintenance of the hereditary estate were frequent

[1] Plut. *Inst. Lacon.* 40.   [2] Xenoph. *Laced. Resp.* 15.

among the Hellenes: special precepts on this subject were given in the eighth and seventh centuries by Philolaus at Thebes, by Phidon at Corinth, and by Zaleucus to the Locrians.[1] They were all the less likely to be absent in Sparta, as the possibility of rendering military service on the part of those families who possessed only the portions of land assigned them by the state, depended upon the lasting possession of these portions. We also learn that it was universally held to be shameful among the Lacedæmonians to traffic in land; it was actually forbidden to sell the "ancient portion," "the portion assigned from antiquity." This ancient portion, assigned from antiquity, consisted of the hides of the public lands, seen from the standpoint of later times. Even to those who had been adopted into the citizenship of Sparta, *i.e.* into the ruling class, portions of land were assigned.[2] This indeed did not provide for all futurity. If the produce of the allotments enabled families, otherwise without means, even to instruct and equip the younger sons for military service, —we find as a fact, later on, the younger brothers living in one house with and under the eldest brother, the master of the house (*ἑστιοπάμων*), and apparently not only sharing his income but also his wife,[3]—the families who grew up from the marriages of younger sons were without lands, and consequently without fixed maintenance or the possibility of military training,

[1] Aristot. *Polit.* 6, 2, 5; 2, 3, 4; 2, 3, 7; 2, 9, 7.

[2] Plut. *Inst. Lacon.* 22; Heraclid. Pont. *Fragm.* 2. Aristotle has in his mind the law of Epitadeus (Plut. *Agis.* 5)—according to which it was not indeed permitted to a man to sell house and allotment, but he might give them away in his lifetime and bequeath them at his death—when he says (*Polit.* 2, 6, 10): τοῦτο δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν νόμων τέτακται φαύλως· ὠνεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ καὶ πωλεῖν τὴν ὑπαρχοῦσαν ἐποίησεν οὐ καλὸν, ὀρθῶς ποιήσας· διδόναι δὲ καὶ καταλείπειν ἔδωκε τοῖς βουλομένοις.

[3] Polyb. 12, 6.

or the rendering of service in war. The future might see to that—might ponder over fresh conquests, to furnish new lands for the families recently grown up, the surplus of the ruling class.[1]

[1] Grote (*History of Greece*, 2, 553 *sqq.*), in his enquiry into the division of the land by Lycurgus, comes to the conclusion that this was either a fancy of King Agis III. and his followers, or a mere barren regulation. Historical fancies do not arise without historical realities, and if Grote founds his contradiction of the division of Lycurgus chiefly on the late date of the tradition, the assertions as to the equality of goods once prevailing in Sparta go far higher than he reckons, at least as high as Ephorus himself. *τῆς μὲν δὴ Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείας*, we read in Polybius (6, 46); *ἴδιον εἶναί φασι* (Ephorus, Xenophon, Callisthenes, Plato) *πρῶτον μὲν τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἐγγαίους κτήσεις ὧς οὐδενὶ μέτεστι πλεῖον ἀλλὰ πάντας τὰς πολίτας ἴσον ἔχειν δεῖ τῆς πολιτικῆς χώρας.* The division of land has scarcely ever become and remained such a vivid interest among any other people as among the Hellenes, whose history begins with a great settlement on the peninsula and a great emigration towards the east, succeeded for a hundred years by continual expansion on all sides. All these settlements and colonies in conquered territories would neither be conceivable nor practically feasible without division of land. At a much later period in the century, between the fall of the Pisistratidæ and the defeat before Syracuse, *i.e.* as long as the successes of the Athenians lasted, they always divided the land won by their arms. The Lacedæmonians, to whom such divisions, from the nature of their state, must have been even more familiar than to the Athenians, divided, after the first Messenian War, portions of land in Messenia among the expelled Asinæans and Androclidæ, and after the second, among the expelled Nauplians; they also allotted the territory of Thyrea to the expelled Æginetans. Is it likely, then, that they had had no allotments of land among themselves? The word which is put into the mouth of King Polydorus when he was setting out against Messenia, *ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκλήρωτον τῆς γῆς βαδίζω*, could only have been invented when the custom of dividing conquered lands was in force; and when the Pythia says to the Spartans: *δώσω τοι Τεγέην—καὶ καλὸν πεδίον σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι*, this sentence, whether genuine or invented, proves the existence of the notion that the Spartans measured out conquered territories with a line and divided them. In regard to the division of land in Messenia, we possess the evidence of Tyrtæus, Plato (*Alcib.* 1, 121), and Pausanias; and Epaminondas says to the Messenians: *κατακληρουχήσας τὴν χώραν* (Diod. 15, 66). After the conquest of the lower Eurotas valley, less could not have occurred than after the conquest of Messenia. In the former case the times of victory had returned; and since Timomachus is said to have ordered the military affairs of the Spartans (a tradition which, by attributing this to a man who was not a Spartan, and by the observance of the Hyacinthia, seems

The allotment of the hides of land in the lower Eurotas valley gave to the soldiers their merited reward, and to all alike the common interest of maintaining the new possession; it provided against the possibility of members of the ruling class being degraded into poor people; it effected a certain equalisation of property within the ruling class; it made all the members of that class capable of military service and available for it. The problem was now to see that this service was actually and universally performed, that the whole male force of the ruling class might be brought quickly into the field. For this purpose, the most efficient means, the distribution and the organisation of the army, must be carried out even in time of peace. We are acquainted with the custom of the Syssitia, which united voluntary military

more credible than the Spartan version in Herodotus, which ascribes the organisation of the army to Lycurgus, and is confirmed by Pindar's expression: The Ægidæ set Sparta upon her feet, p. 413); since, I repeat, Timomachus is said to have organised the army, and the organisation of the army is based upon the Syssitia and the allotments, I believe there is good reason for placing the first Spartan allotment of lands in the times of Teleclus and Alcamenes. The newly-won territory was large enough to furnish from four to five thousand hides without entirely dispossessing the ancient population; for the equality of the lots further proofs will be adduced. I willingly, therefore, concede to Grote that no general confiscation of lands, in consequence of a new and systematic division of ground and soil, ever took place in Sparta, neither in 9000, 6000, nor 4500 lots, still less, a division of the lands of the Periœci into 30,000 lots, which would have had no meaning; for what interest had Sparta in making the possessions of the Periœci equal? Had Lycurgus desired such a division, he would have made all the better endowed persons, at whose expense the division in Plutarch is carried out, and at that time could alone be carried out, into enemies of the Synœcismus, and thereby given a powerful support to the resistance of the royal houses. On the other hand, there had been repeated assignments of land to the ruling class, and that in equal portions; from these assignments arose the legend that entire equality of landed possessions had once prevailed in Sparta, which Lycurgus was then said to have introduced, together with all the Spartan institutions. This tradition reaches considerably further back than the times of Agis III. and Cleomenes III.

associations for common repasts (p. 392 f.). This custom was made the rule: membership in such an association became law, the condition of citizenship, of participation in the community, and of the right of voting in the common assembly; while the associations themselves extended to the lowest grades of the army. Every Spartan must belong to a society for meals, *i.e.* to a military brotherhood; out of these brotherhoods the army was to be composed, and its internal organisation must thereby have been most strongly cemented. The ruling class thus found itself always in the frame of the army: in commerce and in the community of the associations for public repasts it was even in peace included in the military corporation, and thereby compelled to live not on private estates or lands, but in Sparta, or at any rate in the near neighbourhood. If the town of Sparta had grown out of the camp, or the fort which was erected against Amyclæ, this arrangement, and the influence of the guilds for public repasts after the union and the fall of Amyclæ, brought the whole ruling class to Sparta; it was kept together here as in the camp; no man liable to bear arms was absent without special permission: without any long preparation this class could be at any moment assembled and brought into the field. The society of the table became there the society of the tent. Compelled to live separately in "tents," thus Xenophon speaks of these societies,—and he was accurately acquainted with the institutions of Sparta, the Spartans had always the representation of war before their eyes, and their city had rather the character of a military camp than of peaceful dwellings side by side.

This organisation of their army, this military con-

stitution, was given to the Spartans by a foreigner, Timomachus, the Ægid of Thebes. So we are told by Aristotle, and not only is the fact attested by his authority, but also by the honours paid to the memory of Timomachus at the Hyacinthia, and the statement that the Spartans owed to him the conquest of Amyclæ. These traditions are the more credible as they are not flattering to the pride of the Spartans. If the state was ordered according to tribes and family ties; if, in the Homeric poems, even the battle was set in array in reference to these, the new organism of the Spartan army was wholly based upon free brotherhood. The tents were formed according to voluntary choice of men who met together without regard to family and tribe.[1] Each tent consisted of about fifteen men.[2] The associates of the tent swore, as brothers-in-arms, not to desert one another in battle; they constituted the lowest division of the Spartan army—the corporalship. Two or four of these corporalships, forming the Enomoties, were the next highest division; and then came other divisions, consisting of several Enomoties.[3] The Enomoties, accompanied by their cooks, who in time of peace prepared their repast, and by their attendants, could be ready at any moment to take the field.

The reception of new members into the tent-

[1] Xenoph. *Hellen.* 4, 5, 10. *Resp. Laced.* 5, 2, 3, 9, 4, 13; 7, 15, 5.

[2] Plut. *Lyc.* 12.

[3] The contradictions in the traditional accounts of the numbers, and between Triacas and Pentecostys (for the passages *vide* Trieber, *Forschungen*, p. 6), may no doubt be solved by the consideration that the tents could not always have their full complement, and that, when the army was called out, classifications of age were observed. When Thucydides represents the Pentecostys as consisting of one hundred and twenty-eight men (four Enomotiæ of thirty-two men), we see that Pentecostys was not a number but a name.

associations took place, as was required by the nature of a military brotherhood, only through the votes of all the present members; and in later times by secret ballot. The contribution to the table was fixed at a moderate amount; the sons, the younger brothers, the less wealthy of the ruling class, could not be excluded from a community on which depended their union with the commonwealth and the rulers. The superintendence of the table-associations was confided to the kings, whose duty it was to look after all military concerns. They themselves dined at a common table (at any rate in later times) with the generals—the Polemarchs—and the four Pythians, of whom each of the kings named two; these were to preserve the oracles delivered by the Delphic god and to maintain relations with Delphi.[1]

Under the dominion of the two kings and of the well-organised nobility united at Sparta, prepared for war, and thoroughly provided for with allotments of land, stood the ancient inhabitants of the country, the Achæans, now the Periœci (*i.e.* those dwelling around, who dwell around the central point), and the Helots. Of the Periœci, Isocrates tells us in a passage certainly not written in favour of the Spartans: "They are no less enslaved than the slaves; of their land only the worst part is left to them, and so small a portion that they are scarcely able to live by it, while their conquerors have taken the largest and best share for themselves. Their towns are not worthy of the name, and are of less importance than the demes in Attica; they enjoy none of the rights of free men, and may be put to death without trial or judgment by

[1] Plut. *Lyc.* 12; Athenæus, p. 141; Herod. 6, 57; Suidas, Πύθιοι; Xenoph. *Resp. Laced.* 15, 4.

the highest Spartan functionaries.[1] These statements are exaggerated in regard to more than one point. But it is certain that the conquerors took from them the best part of their land, the fields in "hollow Lacedæmon;" that the Periœci were subjects who were excluded from all active participation in the commonwealth, and that their communities settled at most certain local affairs. They had to pay tribute to the kings (p. 385), and stood under the command and jurisdiction both of the kings and of the officers whom they appointed as overseers of the Periœci.[2] They had, however, preserved their personal freedom and their property; and when the kings and their overseers did not tyrannise over them, the Periœci were not, on the whole, in a worse condition than the Metœci in the other Hellenic states. Admittance to the festivals and participation in them were not forbidden to the Periœci, nor competition in the games; the name "Laconians" included alike Spartans and Periœci. They were peasants and artisans, and subsequently, after the conquest of the south and east coasts, seamen and sailors, occupations despised by the ruling class; and to them also fell the management of commerce.

Before the Doric invasion there was in Hellas no class of peasants in serfdom or belonging to the land. There were prisoners of war, and slaves that had been purchased, and beside these a class of day-labourers, the Thetes, who performed pastoral and agricultural services for hire. These formed the lowest grades of freemen. The bondsmen, the peasants attached to the soil, were an innovation; a consequence of the

[1] *Panath.* 178.
[2] This follows from the position of things, as well as from the later institution of the twenty Harmostæ and the Cytherodicæ.

immigration and conquests of the Thessalians and the Dorians.[1] The Helots were that portion of the Achæan agriculturists in the cultivated lands of the Eurotas who were in the worst position. Bond-servants, wearing the ancient peasant dress—the leathern cap and sheepskin—they had to manage the goods and estates of their Spartan lords, on which stood their huts,[2] and to tend their herds; they might also be employed by their masters in personal services. Those of the bondsmen, for example, whom the lord selected were forced to accompany him to the field, and carry his weapons and provisions. The fruits of their labours belonged to him, but only a certain portion of the produce of the soil was rendered up. This quota could not be increased by the masters; it was prohibited by a curse to raise the tribute (p. 408). The remainder belonged to the Helots for their subsistence; it was open to them to sell what they did not need, and they were thus in a position to acquire property.[3] It was not permitted for the lord to sell, slay, or liberate his Helots.[4] They were a possession that had been won in common, a class essential to the existence of the state; they were regarded, at any rate, after the regular arrangement of the hides of land and the prescripts connected therewith, as a possession lent to the lord by the state, and not as his private property; they might even be trained by the state for military service. It was the commonwealth that had assigned the Helots for labour and service to the families of the ruling class, and had divided them among the nobility; but the commonwealth might always claim their service for itself.

[1] Athenæus, p. 265. [2] Livius, 34, 27. [3] Plut. *Cleom.* 23.
[4] Ephorus, ap. Strab. p. 365; Pausan. 3, 20, 6.

The conquest of Amyclæ is a decisive event in the history of Sparta; it is the second or third foundation of this state. After that conquest Sparta possessed a domain secluded in itself, and by its conformation closely united; which, protected by Mount Taygetus and Mount Parnon in the west and east, and cut off in the south by the sea, was of great natural strength. Through the union and common life of the Dorians in Sparta, and the endowment of all Doric families with at least as much landed property as would allow the members of them capable of bearing arms to render military service, the line of partition between conquerors and conquered was much more sharply drawn in Sparta than was the case in the other conquered territories in the Peloponnesus, or in Thessaly and Bœotia. The ruling classes were more effectually prevented in Sparta than elsewhere from becoming poor and allowing their members to descend to the occupations of subjects or intermixture with these,—the Periœci. Moreover, this provision for the ruling class, induced of itself a certain feeling of equality; each family had received its share of the fruits of the conquest, all had the same interest in maintaining it. The readiness for war of the nobility in the capital secured its supremacy even for the future over the Periœci and Helots, and preserved the unity of the state and of the land. New Doric cities on the Eurotas beside Sparta could not arise. Sparta thus became, alone of all the conquered cantons, a united state; and avoided the lax forms of united communities, of a federal state into which Argos fell, or the isolation of separate communities on smaller territories like Corinth and Sicyon. The extent of the conquered territory made the Spartan regulations easier, and the

result of them was that the smaller state, bounded by Argos and Messenia, became the strongest and most concentrated, and was soon able to prove its intensive power and military superiority in a practical manner to its greater neighbours. The maintenance of the double monarchy was provided for by the placing of *the centre of gravity in the Gerousia and assembly of* rulers; the harmony of the royal houses was to be insured by the worship of the Dioscuri, and the legend which gave them the same tribal ancestor, and made them spring from twins, if even hostile twins. It was all in favour of the new institutions if, as soon as their origin had become somewhat distant in time, they could be represented as handed down from antiquity, from Lycurgus, dating from the founding of the city, and inseparably connected with its prosperity.

CHAPTER XI.

THE COLONIES IN MELOS, THERA, AND CRETE.

After the conquest of Amyclæ by the Spartans, and the extension of their territory to the shore of the Laconic Gulf, and after the fall of Helus, part of the former inhabitants of these lands, the Achæans and Minyæ, went forth to seek new abodes on the west coast of the Peloponnesus and on the adjacent islands of the Ægean Sea. Plutarch and Conon have already told us that a detachment of these emigrants colonised the island of Melos; we have seen that another body, under the command of Theras, colonised Thera; and we were able to fix the date of these colonies about the year 800 B.C.[1]

At Melos dwelt Phœnicians from Byblus. Numerous terra-cotta vessels have been found there, ornamented in the Phœnician manner, and these must date from the period in which the Phœnicians inhabited the island, unless they were manufactured by the new masters, according to the traditional patterns.[2] On

[1] *Supra*, pp. 339, ff, 346. If the Melians in the year 416 B.C. maintained that they had then been for seven hundred years in their island (Thucyd. 5, 112), this statement cannot be maintained against the proofs given above of the connection between the colonisation of Melos and Thera with the taking of Amyclæ and Helus. Moreover, those seven hundred years were reckoned according to genealogies, or a catalogue like that of the priests of Poseidon, the Antheadæ of Halicarnassus; *supra*, p 129.

[2] Conze, *Thongefässe auf Melos.*

the island of Thera, which Herodotus says was called Calliste before the arrival of Theras, Cadmus is reported to have landed, and to have erected two temples; leaving there on his departure his kinsman Membliarus,[1] son of Poikilos, *i.e.* the worker in many colours. Thus Herodotus is able to represent Theras the Ægid of Thebes as a descendant of Cadmus, coming to Thera to his kinsfolk, who accordingly give him a friendly reception. The meaning of this statement as to the friendly reception of Theras by his kinsfolk is no doubt that an accommodation had taken place between the immigrants and the Phœnicians already settled in Thera, and that here, as at Ialysus in Rhodes, Phœnicians had been admitted into the community of the new rulers. The weaving in many colours, which was extensively carried on in Thera, the seven districts in which we find the island divided, show the continued influence of Phœnician elements; while, on the other hand, the names of the colonies founded by the settlers in Thera—Eleusis, Peiræum, Oea, and Melænæ[2]—prove that tradition is right in representing the Minyæ who settled in Thera as descendants of those Minyæ who fled before the invading Thessalians and Arnæans, first to Attica, then took refuge with the Achæans on the lower Eurotas and Mount Taygetus, and lastly, being again driven out by the arms of the Spartans, found permanent abodes in Thera. At the same time, this account contradicts the official version of the Spartans, which asserts that the colonists of Thera consisted of Spartans and a few Minyæ. If the Doric dialect came into use in Melos and Thera, this is explained by the fact that Argos had supported the last struggle of the

[1] Herod. 4, 147. [2] Boeckh, *Abth. der Berl. Akad.* 1836, p. 80 ff.

Achæans and Minyæ against the Spartans (p. 401), and that Melos and Thera had passed under the dominion of Argos. Herodotus says, as we have already seen,[1] that Argos in ancient times had ruled Cythera and the other islands: by the other islands we can only understand, it would appear, the Southern Cyclades, lying nearest to Cythera. Cythera offered the nearest refuge to the exiles driven out from the region at the mouth of the Eurotas; the close relations in which Argos stood to its colony of Cnossus in Crete will appear later on. In Thera, the descendants of Theras, the founder of the settlement, ruled as kings until after the middle of the seventh century, about 630 B.C.[2]

A portion of the emigrant Achæans, the greater portion, we are told by Plutarch, with Pollis as their leader, passed by way of Melos to Crete, where, at least a century before them, Dorians from Argos had settled in and around Cnossus, the city of Minos (p. 321). Pollis landed with his companions on the north coast of Crete, on Cherronesus, a little peninsula jutting out into the sea to the east of Cnossus: here the strangers are said to have first settled. In many battles, says Plutarch, Pollis struggled with his adversaries, built Lyctus, south-east from Cnossus, on the northern declivity of Mount Dicte, and subjugated many other cities. According to the statement of Conon, not Lyctus, but

[1] *Ἦν δὲ Ἀργείων—καὶ ἡ Κυθηρηίη νῆσος καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν νήσων*, *supra*, p. 319.

[2] In proof of the derivation of the Theræans from Sparta, reference has been made to the name Procles, which is found on the stone No. 1 in Bœckh, *loc. cit.*, and further to such names as Aristodemus and Proclidas in later inscriptions. These names are also found outside Sparta. Meanwhile I will not dispute the possibility of the connection; when, in the seventh century, the descent from Sparta was assumed in opposition to that from Argos, names of this kind might however have come into particular favour.

Gortyn, in the south of the island, on the other side of the mountain range of Ida, was the city founded by Pollis (p. 339). In the wars carried on by Pollis, with the inhabitants of Crete, Plutarch further informs us, many that had fallen in the fight remained unburied, first on account of the disquiet and dangers of war, and then from the general fear of touching the putrid corpses. Then Pollis decreed to the priests and to those who buried corpses, certain honours, privileges, and exemptions from taxes, and, that these rights might never be set aside, he placed them under the protection of the gods of the lower world; so that the priests and interrers called from the burning of the bodies Catacautæ, remained free from attack, plunder, and violence.[1]

The older *Odyssey* mentions the Achæans as of the first importance in Crete, and the Dorians and Pelasgi, by whom are meant Minyæ, as coming next to them.[2] The importance of the Achæan element transported hither from the lower Eurotas valley is shown by the names Amyclæ and Therapne, places in Crete, which clearly point to an Achæan origin.[3] Conon mentions Delphus and Pollis together as founders of Gortyn.[4] According to the laws of Plato, Gortyn was founded by Dorians from Argos. If Lyctus is called by Ephorus and Aristotle a city of the Laconians,[5] we have seen what this means. Lyctus is regarded by Polybius as the most ancient Greek city in Crete, which contradicts the view of the Homeric poems, and the legend of the founding of Cnossus by the Dorians of Althæmenes; the further statement of

[1] Plut. *de Mulierum Virt.* 8; *Quæst. Græc.* 21.
[2] *Odyss.* 19, 175 ff
[3] Solin. Ed. Mommsen, p. 80; Höckh, *Creta*, pp. 417, 447.
[4] *Laws*, 708. [5] Ephorus, ap. Strab. p. 481; Aristot *Polit.* 2, 7.

Polybius that Lyctus was indeed a colony of the Lacedæmonians, but at the same time related to the Athenians,[1] refers to the tradition which ingeniously coins the emigrants from the Eurotas and Mount Taygetus into Spartans, by representing them as descended from Spartan mothers, while their fathers were those Minyæ or Pelasgi from Lemnos who once lived in Attica, and afterwards stole wives for themselves from the Attic coasts.

We know what motives Sparta had for ascribing to herself the colonies of Melos and Thera, and the founding of Greek cities in Crete, and what openings there were for investing these stories with a fictitious lustre (p. 402). Melos and Thera in later times, when the power of Argos had declined and that of Sparta had increased, seem to have half accepted them in order to gain the help of Sparta against Cnossus.[2] Plutarch and Polyænus, as we have already seen, assert, thus betraying the true state of the case, that the emigrants from the lower valley of the Eurotas were merely bound by a promise to call themselves colonists of Sparta (p. 340). To the circle of these legends belongs also a narrative which we find in Pausanias. In the reign of King Alcamenes, *i.e.* of the king under whom Helus, the last Achæan city, fell, the Spartans had sent Charmidas to Crete to compose the dissensions of the Cretans. Charmidas persuaded the Cretans to give up the small and weak cities which lay far from the sea, and to settle themselves altogether in those which were favourably situated for maritime commerce.[3] The narrative does not assert that the

[1] Polyb. 4, 54.

[2] About the year 340 Sparta assisted the Lyctians to regain their city, from which they had been driven out by the Cnossians; Diod. 16, 62.

[3] Pausan. 3, 2, 7.

Cretan cities were actually of Spartan origin, but that Charmidas the Spartan was to be regarded as their real founder. It is wrecked upon the fact that the advice said to have been given was not followed; neither Gortyn nor Lyctus is on the sea; Cnossus lies nearer to it, but by no means directly upon the coast.

Unsatisfactory as is our information concerning the colonisation of Crete, it is certain that Cnossus and Lyctus in the north, and Gortyn in the south—all three situated between the east and west points of the island —were, and continued to be, the most important Greek cities there. From these three cities all the other colonies went forth, but they never embraced the whole island. In the west, on the Jardanus (Jordan), part of the ancient Phœnician population long maintained itself; the Greeks called them Cydones, from the city of Cydonia (on the north coast).[1] In the east there was another tribe which the Greeks held to be the remains of the original inhabitants of Crete, and which they therefore called Eteocretes, *i.e.* true Cretans. We may suppose that this tribe, like the ancient population of the entire island, was of Carian race. Even on the site of Cnossus, once the chief settlement of the Phœnicians in Crete, pottery of a rude kind has been found, which, in form, style of manufacture, and ornamentation, resembles the most primitive specimens discovered in Thera and at Ialysus in Rhodes.[2]

Cnossus, Lyctus, and Gortyn were under the rule of kings.[3] Of their fortunes in these times we are told nothing; only a late tradition asserts that Homer,

[1] *Odyss.* 3, 292. [2] *Revue Archéol.* Dec. 1880.
[3] Aristot. *Polit.* 2, 7.

i.e. probably a Homerid, received a friendly welcome, and was highly honoured by the princes of Crete.[1] Contrary to the plan of the ancient *Iliad*, and of the otherwise strictly-maintained picture of the period before the migration, two princes of Crete, of Cnossus, whom the royal house of the Cnossian Dorians reckoned among its ancestors—Idomeneus and Meriones—have found entrance through later inventions into the poem, as rulers of Crete and sharers in the Trojan expedition; even Lyctus is spoken of in this subsequent interpolation. The Greeks, both princes and people, in Crete were no doubt very warlike in character. They attained the mastery here through the most severe conflicts. This is proved by the position of the ancient population in the territories of the Greek cities. The emigrants are the community of masters; the communities of subjects (ὑπήκοοι, περίοικοι) consist of a portion of the old inhabitants, to whom the conquerors allowed their personal freedom and property; while, on the other hand, they had to furnish the community of masters with contributions in kind, and also to pay taxes. Among themselves the Periœci lived according to their ancient usages, dating, as Aristotle expressly assures us, from the time before the immigration and the conquests of their new lords. The possession of weapons and the training of their bodies were forbidden to them. Aristotle says that they remained in obedient subjection.[2] The rest of the ancient inhabitants were reduced to slavery. A portion of these slaves belonged to the whole community of rulers,—to the state; had to cultivate the territory of the state, and were employed in its service

[1] Bergk, *Griech. Ltgsch.* 1, 651; *infra*, ch. 12.
[2] *Polit.* 2, 2, 12; 2, 7, 8.

in other ways; another portion was the property of the lords of the allotted lands, bond slaves attached to these lands and settled upon them having to till the ground, tend the flocks and herds, and serve their own master.[1] Not only do the complete separation of the ancient population and the new rulers, the emphatic assertion of the right of the conqueror, and the reduction of a part of the conquered to slavery, testify to a long period of war, but the custom of the ruling classes at Cnossus, Gortyn, and Lyctus, of eating common meals in certain divisions, likewise points to familiarity with camp-life, and the practices of brotherhoods of arms and societies of tents. Aristotle tells us that at Cnossus and Gortyn half the produce of the state lands in corn and cattle, and the requisitions of the Periœci, went to supply the needs of the state and of public worship; the other half was expended upon the common meals for the men (*ἀνδρεῖα*), and also for the maintenance of their women and children.[2] At Lyctus the tenth part of the harvest of every estate was set apart for the table-associations; the Lyctians were generally divided into *ἑταιρεῖαι*, *i.e.* brotherhoods in arms, which had their meals in common; and for these repasts each member contributed a tithe of his harvests. The same ends of readiness and valour in war were served by the vigorous military training of the youths, which began in their eighteenth year, with division into different sections.[3] That Cnossus, Gortyn, Lyctus, and the Cretan colonies which went forth from them, not only contended with the ancient population, but also had feuds among themselves, we may well presuppose from the usual

[1] Concerning the *μνῶται*, *i.e.* the slaves of the state and the *κλαρῶται*, *vide* Athenæus, pp. 263, 696; Strabo, p. 542.
[2] *Polit.* 2, 7, 4; Nicol. Damasc. *Fragm.* 115.
[3] Dosiades, ap. *Athenæ.* p. 143.

customs of the Greeks, though we do not hear of such conflicts till a later period.

The influences brought to bear upon the Greek colonists in Crete by the religious worship, state of culture, and proficiency in art which they found there, were of a most important kind, and through the Greeks of Crete these important influences spread to the Greeks at large. Inscriptions from Gortyn and Lyctus, and the legend of a square coin of Gortyn, if they are not the oldest monuments in writing preserved of the Greeks, at any rate show us the Greek alphabet in its primitive form, copied from that of the Phœnicians. For the Greek sounds which are wanting in the Semitic languages (φ, χ, ξ, ψ) the Cretan Greek alphabet has as yet no signs; at the same time, however, these inscriptions allow us to perceive—sometimes in the writing from right to left, borrowed from the Phœnicians, sometimes in the alternate writing—the earliest forms of the Greek alphabet for the short *e* and the sigma.[1] The oldest Greek inscriptions that have come down to us are on gravestones in the island of Thera, which go back to the middle of the seventh century, and consequently have no particular signs to express these sounds. The oldest inscriptions of Melos are half a century later. About the middle of the sixth century Melos and Thera adopted the signs invented by the Ionians for the sounds not in use with the Phœnicians, while Gortyn and Lyctus held to the old system.[2]

As the Greeks in Crete, and first of these the colonists from Argos to Cnossus, here learned and adopted the writing of the Phœnicians, so also they adopted from them weights and measures. The

[1] Kirchhoff, *Studien*, [3] pp 61-65. [2] Kirchhoff, *loc. cit.* p. 49 *sqq.*

system of weights introduced by King Phidon of Argos about the middle of the eighth century must have come to Argos from Crete; it is based on the Babylonian talent of silver, which was equivalent to 67⅓ pounds. The decided advance made by Phidon beyond the simple adoption of this system consisted in its application to coinage. The Phœnicians remained stationary in the use of bars of money; *i.e.* of pieces of a certain weight, which in every exchange had to be weighed over again. Phocæa is said to have coined money even before Phidon and Agamemnon of Cyme. Phidon's system of coinage and weights was also current in Crete and Rhodes, and continued to be employed there.[1] A different system, however, derived also from Babylon, was transmitted to the Ionians of Eubœa, through their commerce with their fellow-tribesmen now settled on the coast of Asia.

The cults which the settlers in Cnossus and Gortyn found there were of the highest significance for the religious presentations and mythus of the Greeks. Cnossus, in the Phœnician period Karath, was the abode of Minos and of the Minotaurus, *i.e.* of the bull—Zeus, Baal-Moloch. The Greeks of Cnossus especially worshipped Zeus, and brought his worship into connection with the mountain spirits of the Cretan Mount Ida, with the Corybantes and the weapon-dance of the Curetes. The cavern of Zeus and his sanctuary lay on that mountain[2] not very far from Cnossus, and the way thither led through the plain of Omphalium. Gortyn, in Phœnician times Hellotis, had been sacred to the Syrian goddess Astarte-Ashera, as the name Hellotis shows. The new rulers of the city continued this worship. In the territory of Gortyn, near a

[1] *Supra*, pp. 238, 239; Bœckh, *Metrologie*, p. 100 ff. [2] *Laws*, p. 625.

spring under a plane tree "which never lost its leaves," the place was pointed out where Zeus, who, in the form of a bull, had carried off Europa-Hellotis to Crete, had consorted with the goddess.[1] It is the old Phœnician mythus already known to us, in which the god of heaven seeks the lost moon-goddess, at last finds her, and celebrates with her a holy marriage. The Greeks of Gortyn solemnised the festival of the Hellotia to Europa-Hellotis, and together with her they worshipped Britomartis, a goddess whom they named Artemis, and Adymus, "the brother of Europa," by whom the Adodus of the Syrians may have been intended.[2] It was the opinion of the Greeks that the island of Crete belonged to Zeus, as the island of Rhodes belonged to Helios.[3] Not only had he celebrated his sacred marriage with Europa there, and imparted revelations to Minos, but Crete was his birthplace, where he had grown up, and where his grave was shown.

The highest god of the Greeks thus had his origin and pedigree in Crete. Let us recall the gods of the Phœnicians. Eljon, the highest god, and Beruth produced Uranus and Gæa. Uranus succeeded his father as supreme ruler, and in marriage with his sister Gæa begot Cronos (El) and Atlas. Being angry that his father had intercourse with other women besides Gæa, El prepared a sickle, hurled Atlas into the abyss, deprived his father of his dominion, lay in ambush for him, and shamefully mutilated him. Subsequently El burned his only son upon the altar as an offering to Uranus, and divided the earth between Adodus, king of the gods and the other deities.

[1] Solin. p. 82, Ed. Mommsen.
[2] Strabo, p. 479; Solin. *loc. cit.* [3] Conon, *Narrat.* 47.

From this genealogy of the Phœnicians the Greeks in Crete have borrowed some essential traits. Even in the Homeric poems Zeus has become the Cronid, *i.e.* the son of Cronos and Rhea. The Homeric epithet of "crooked minded," *i.e.* the destroying, points to dark deeds on the part of Cronos; Cronos and Iapetus were thrown by Zeus to the end of the world and of the sea, into dark Tartarus.[1] What the Homeric poems with true poetic genius only indicate and suggest is related in the *Theogony* of the Bœotian poets. Uranus and Gæa were the parents of Iapetus, Rhea, and Cronos, but the children were hated by their father; he did not suffer them to see the light, and rejoiced in his evil work. Then the mighty Gæa sighed, and caused gray iron to grow, from which she fashioned a sickle, and said to her children: Let us revenge the dishonour that your father has done you; he first devised unseemly actions. The rest were terrified, but the youngest, great Cronos, was ready. Then Gæa concealed him in ambush, and gave him the sharp-toothed sickle, and when Uranus came at night, and approached Gæa, Cronos mutilated him with the sickle.[2] To Cronos, who now reigned instead of Uranus, Rhea bore Hades and Poseidon, Hestia, Demeter, and Hera. But as soon as the children were born and on the knees of their mother, Cronos swallowed them, for he had learned from Gæa and Uranus that he was destined to be dethroned by one of his children. When Rhea was about to be delivered of Zeus, her youngest son (in the Homeric poems he is the eldest of the brothers), she betook herself to Lyctus in Crete, and there hid the child in a cave, but to Cronos she gave a large stone enveloped

[1] *Il.* 14, 203, 274; 8, 478 ff; 15, 225.

[2] *Theogony*, 154 ff.

in swaddling garments. And the boy Zeus quickly grew up, and the cunning of Gæa caused Cronos to restore first the stone and then the children whom he had swallowed, and the power of Zeus overcame him and hurled him into Tartarus.[1] In struggling with Cronos, says another legend, Zeus conquered him.[2]

In this mythus Phœnician and Greek conceptions are intermingled. El, the Phœnician god of heaven, hostile to generation, takes from the god of heaven, whois favourable to generation—Baal-Samin, Uranus—the power of it; he then himself offers his only son in royal attire to the highest god who is hostile to generation, the spirit of Saturn above the sun. To El belonged the first-born, which must either be sacrificed to him or redeemed. Baal-Moloch, the god of the glowing sun, slays his children, the seeds, by his own burning rays; to appease his anger, children must be sacrificed to him. In the Phœnician mythus the god of Saturn overcomes the god of heaven, Baal-Samin, and divides the sovereignty among the other gods. The Greeks blended these conceptions with elements of their own religious intuition. The derivation of the gods by generation was alien to them. But it was the belief of the ancient Arians that the gods of light and of brightness had to contend with the spirits of darkness, and they recognised the god of the heavenly water, Varuna (Uranus) the supreme, who dwells in a golden house in the waters of heaven, clothed in golden armour. That Uranus should beget children in marriage with the earth was foreign to the Arian conception (*sup.* p. 191, note 2); the embrace of heaven and earth they borrowed from the Phœnicians;

[1] *Theogony*, 453-496, 851. [2] Pausan. 5, 7, 10.

the offsping of this embrace was Cronos. The crooked-minded Cronos who mutilated his father, who swallows his children, is with the Greeks a combination of the Phœnician god hostile to generation, and the Phœnician god of the solar heat; he is, at once El and Baal-Moloch. The Greeks call by the name of Cronos the god to whom in Rhodes human sacrifices were offered on Mount Atabyris (Tabor), and also the god to whom the Carthaginians offered children by hundreds. But the Greeks in their appropriation of the mythus do not represent Cronos as reigning over the other gods from the highest heaven, as El reigns in the Phœnician mythus; the Greeks set the hostile power of Cronos beneath the dark spirits; they represent Zeus, the lord of the light of heaven, as coming forth from the wicked Cronos, gaining the victory and hurling Cronos into the darkness of Tartarus. The stone given to Cronos instead of Zeus is derived from those shapeless stones in which the Syrians believed their gods were present. If Zeus, the young and beneficent god, grows up in concealment at Crete, this trait is derived from the fact that the worship of El and that of Baal-Moloch prevailed in Crete until the Greeks arrived, until Zeus hurled Cronos into the abyss. The very circumstance that El and Baal-Moloch, *i.e.* the god hostile to propagation and the sun-god of the scorching heat, had once received human sacrifices on the coasts of Hellas, and that these cults prevailed in Crete when the Greeks settled there, caused the Greeks to represent Cronos as the father of their Zeus.

It was the necessary consequence of the borrowing of Cronos from a foreign nation that the Greeks never arrived at a clear or unanimous conception of this

deity. The ancient Arians imagined at the beginning of things a happy age, in which men lived without pain, and after death passed into the heaven of light of Yama, to feasting and merriment; the Arians of Iran held that at the end of the period in which the world was without old age, sickness, and death, the elect lived on in the garden of Yima; it was the ancient Arian belief that the spirits of their fathers in bright apparel inhabited the heavens, and came down to attend the sacrificial feasts of their posterity.[1] Among the Greeks, Cronos, the god who had preceded Zeus, was the representative of that first happy period since he had already once been superior to Zeus. The poem of the *Works and Days* places that golden race of men who lived as gods, without cares and toil and trouble, whom miserable old age did not come near, who rejoiced in constant festivity, far from all evil, in the beginning of things, under the dominion of Cronos.[2]

It was certainly in the highest degree contrary to the nature of Cronos, the god who was crooked in mind, and the devourer of children, and cast into Tartarus, to be the representative of the golden age. Zeus had conquered him and hurled him beneath the earth, but it was impossible to leave the lord of the golden age in this situation. And therefore, in the *Works and Days*, he is already placed in the Islands of the Blessed, on the deep eddying Oceanus, far from the immortals, where he rules over the souls of the heroes who ended their lives in the heroic period, and were transported hither. It was the garden of Yima, transferred from the mountain of the gods in the east; according to the Phœnician mythus, which represents

[1] *Supra*, p. 193. [2] *Opp.* 109-126; *supra*, pp. 194, 195.

Melkarth as holding his sacred wedding in the far west beyond the pillars, in the Fortunate Islands of the western sea, and then sinking to rest. The *Odyssey* also places the Elysian plain on Oceanus, which always sends it the softly-blowing west wind, where there is neither snow, nor storm, nor rain.[1] And Pindar sings: "He who, in a threefold course of life, has kept his soul free from wrong, accomplishes the way of Zeus to the citadel of Cronos and the Island of the Blessed, fanned by the breezes of Oceanus, where the blossoms shine like gold, some on land upon the fair trees, others nourished by the water, with garlands of which they adorn their heads and arms."[2]

In Crete, on Mount Ida, between Cnossus and Gortyn, and also on Mount Dicte near Lyctus,[3] the cavern was shown in which Rhea hid Zeus from his father Cronos. Bees and goats (*αἶξ*), from which Meli (p. 184) and the ægis of Zeus are derived by means of false etymologies, or the nymphs Melissa and Amalthea, *i.e.* the streams of heaven (pp. 167, 185), bring the sap of the ash-tree, honey, ambrosia, and milk, to the child who grows up in the mountain forest. The Curetes surround the cavern with their weapon-dances, and strike their spears against their shields, that Cronos may not hear his cries.[4] The weapon-dance was a Cretan custom; it belonged to the Cydones, *i.e.* to the Phœnician population of the island.[5] Not only were the birthplace and dwelling-place of Zeus in his youth shown in Crete, but also the grave or resting-place of the god[6]—

[1] *Odyss.* 4, 563.
[2] *Olymp.* 2, 68.
[3] Bursian, *Geograph.* 2, 532.
[4] Strabo, p. 466 ff.
[5] *Supra*, p. 424; Nicol. Damasc. *Fragm.* 115.
[6] Varro in Solinus, p. 81, Ed. Mommsen; Höckh, *Creta*, 3, 336; Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* p. 1121.

a conception which is transferred to Zeus from the mythus of Baal-Melkarth; Baal-Melkarth after the fulfilment of his conflicts goes to rest in the floods of the western sea, in order to arise once more in renewed youth.

CHAPTER XII.

THE POETRY OF THE ACHÆANS AND IONIANS IN ASIA.

A POWERFUL and far-reaching shock had been felt by the Greek nation, and thrown its life into new channels. The invasions of the Thessalians, Arnæans, Ætolians, and Dorians, had set conquest in place of the feuds and plundering expeditions of the previous periods; long and severe conflicts both for attack and defence had followed; a considerable part of the ancient inhabitants had been ejected from their homes, and had won new abodes with the sword on distant coasts beyond the eastern sea. Thus the Greek race not only gained an extension of territory and an introduction to nautical life, but profited, to a still higher degree, by the influences of the new conditions of life under which the emigrants were brought, and by the impulses given to these emigrants in their new settlements. It was not uniformly organised hosts which had succeeded in conquering extensive territories on the other side of the sea, but, as we have seen, separate bands had gained possession of islands and strips of coast in the course of slow but progressive successes. The strangers had to pass through stormy, changeful, and toilsome periods, during the ceaseless exertions of which, both in attack and self-defence, new colonies and the organisation of these were required. Moreover, one host of emigrants was always followed by another. They came from the

territories of the north and of the south, from the rocky coasts of Thessaly, from Mount Pelion and from Mt. Cnemis, from the shores of the Peloponnesus and the Gulf of Pylus, from Attica, and from Eubœa. Gradually strengthened from home, after the lapse of half a century or even of a hundred years (as tradition says of Chios),[1] the islands and the best portions of Anatolia were colonised, and there grew up a new Greece. The modes of life in particular cantons and districts, to which the Greek peninsula had accustomed its inhabitants from the nature of its soil, were also the basis and condition of existence for the emigrants, and to a still greater extent. The various tribes had colonised isolated points. With their swords in their hands they stood upon distant shores, surrounded by a strange and hostile population; the ground which they had won by their arms had to be defended every hour. At any moment superior hostile armies might call in question the very existence of the new places. And even before they were secure against Teucrians, Mysians, Lydians, and Carians, we have seen that the settlers were at feud with one another. In the midst of so varied and active a life there must necessarily have grown up on the chalk cliffs and green hills of the islands, and on the shores of Anatolia, a bold and vigorous race, rendered strong and hardy by long and severe conflicts. The problems of colonisation, of the ordering of the new commonwealths, and of the adventurous navigation which alone could maintain the connection between the settlers on the islands and the isolated domains on the coast which they colonised; the incitements, moreover, given to the immigrants by the new soil, new surroundings, new relations, inter-

[1] *Supra*, p. 265.

course with foreign neighbours, who were some of them in possession of an older civilisation—all this caused the intellectual life of the new Greece just founded to outstrip that of the old.

It was, however, ancient Greece which had abandoned its home before the new power of a few mountain tribes, had fled before their conquests to Asia, had founded the new Greece, and had here acquired, if not common abodes, yet abodes not far distant from one another. Descendants of the ancient princely families in Argos and Pylus stood at the head of the new settlements, and almost all the territories of the peninsula, from Mount Pelion to Pylus, were represented among the emigrants. They had transported with them all the memories of their former homes and the legends of their districts. All the stories current in the peninsula concerning the deeds and adventures of the heroes of old were now brought together on the coasts of the Teucrians, Mysians, Lydians, and Carians; the legends of Argos and Mycenæ, of the Locrian coasts and the Phocian mountains, of Gortyn and Elatea, of Pelion, of Pheræ and Phthia, of Thebes and Orchomenus, of Helice, of Ægæ, of Attica, of Salamis, of Eubœa. The warlike life which the colonists led awakened the recollection of the deeds of ancient times; they needed the examples of their ancestors, who had endured hardship and suffering; warlike times and a warlike race desired to hear of the doings of heroes.

Like all poetry, that of the Hellenes had its starting-point in religion. We have already seen (p. 146) that the sacrifices of the Greeks were accompanied with invocations or hymns, as were the sacrifices of the Indians. The singers of the Greeks invoked the gods at the sacrificial feast and handed down the knowledge

of efficient prayers in their tribes. The Lycomidæ, the Pamphidæ, the Eumolpidæ in Attica, sang at the sacrifices to Demeter[1] hymns that had been handed down from ancient times. Hymns were a hereditary possession among the Greeks, as among the tribes of singers in India. If the hymn of a minstrel had brought success and blessing to the sacrifice at which it was sung, it was made use of again and again, and amplified and remodelled by posterity from generation to generation. Of this, the most ancient Greek poetry, nothing has been preserved. Only the names of Orpheus, Musæus, Eumolpus, and Pamphus denote to the Greeks their oldest kind of poetry, and behind these names there can scarcely be persons. Orpheus is a legendary form, which expresses the magical power of the efficient invocation (p. 146); Musæus signifies the musician, the servant of the Muses; Eumolpus the fine singer. Only by indirect inference can we discover that the gods, as with the Indians, were invoked by all their names, by fixed laudatory epithets, in order to give them each time their full honour.[2] The solemn and elevated tone of prayer led to a definite cadence of speech, and to simple musical forms which accompanied the typical changes of the invocation. The free attitude adopted by the singers towards the sacrifice prevented their being satisfied, however, with mere invocation; they also praised the gods by making mention of their deeds, and by giving utterance to the mythus of the gods in their hymns. They thus passed from the tone of prayer and devotion to the epic tone. At the close of the invocation, and of the descriptions and praises of the deeds of the god, the singers, like those of the Indians,

[1] Pausan. 1, 22, 7; 8, 35; 7, 8, 36, 6; 7, 21, 3; 9, 29, 3.
[2] Vol. 3, 43; Bergk, *Gr. Ltgsch.* p. 327.

reminded him that he might now, in return for the praises that had been sung to him, show himself favourable to the man who sang.[1] If the lively imagination of the priestly singers and the ancient hieratical poetry had filled heaven with a great number of gods and spirits, and had sung their myths, the stormy period of the migrations compelled men to turn their eyes from heaven to earth, and created a counterpoise to the world of phantasy in the incessant problems which every moment claimed undivided energy and attention. Changing events powerfully affected the prevailing view of things. The interest in these battles and settlements, in these daring and successful enterprises, was revived. The varied life of every day induced vigorous manliness, and together with this a simple joy in the strength, valour, and craftiness with which the adventures and labours of the war and of the voyage had been carried on. The princes and their allies wished to hear about the deeds of their gods and of their ancestors—of the ancient heroes who had endured hard conflicts and labours before them. Next to the invocations and praise of the gods came the fortunes and destinies of the heroes of antiquity, the prototypes of the present generation, "the glory of men." "The hymns and songs of praise (of men) were the first poetry," observes Aristotle.[2] After the sacrifice had been offered, the princes and their soldier companions sat down to the feast. If the singer had sung his prayer and hymn during the sacrifice, he now sang of the ruling power of the gods or of the deeds of heroes; these also were introduced with a few words of invocation to some deity; he accompanied both the

[1] So in the Homeric hymns, *e.g.* in the hymn to Demeter, at the end.
[2] *Poet.* 4, 8.

invocation and the narrative with the tones of his phorminx. The same occurred at the sacrifices of the tribal associates, the corporations of nobility, and the sacrificial feasts that followed them;[1] all who possessed land and property in the territories of the new states from their ancestors, who had conquered and divided the country, had enlarged the boundaries of the state by their exploits, and had gained new allotments, pastures, and slaves, were nobles.

A long series of songs in praise of the ancient heroes were sung at the courts of the Penthilidæ in Lesbos, of the descendants of Agamemnon at Cyme, of the princes of Miletus and Colophon, of the descendants of Neleus, of Melanthus, of Nestor of Pylus, by families of singers, who probably grew into schools at these places. What songs could find more joyful welcome at Lesbos and Cyme or could exalt all hearts to greater enthusiasm than those which glorified the deeds accomplished by the ancestors of the hearers on the very coasts which were now fought for, the coasts of the Teucrians? If legends of a warlike expedition to these coasts in ancient times already existed in the former home of the emigrants and were brought over with them (the emigrants would scarcely have turned towards the Hellespont without some knowledge of those regions which only plundering expeditions from the peninsula could have imparted to them); if the glory of the battles which the Lesbians and Cymæans had now to wage when they fought at Sigeum and Rhœteum, at Dardanus and Cebren,[2] gave

[1] *E.g. Odyss.* 8, 266 ff; *Il.* 9, 189.

[2] *Supra*, p. 237. According to Mullenhoff (*Deutsche Altertumskunde*, p. 11 ff) the legend of the destruction of Ilium was not merely in existence before the migration, but was based on the historical fact that the city of Priam had once been taken by Achæans.

birth to these legends, they must soon have become among the Achæans the central point of the songs of the minstrels. If each of the districts of the old home here represented among the Achæans had taken part, or desired to take part, in this war of antiquity, there could be no want of material of every kind for these songs. The songs celebrated the deeds of every hero who had fought there, and the adventures he had passed through. Encouraged by the liveliest sympathy of the audience, the singers enlarged them time after time, recast them, and gave them continually more living and concrete forms. The elements for such a transformation lay near to hand. The commanding position of the princes of Argos—the Atridæ—was given by the existing principality of their descendants in Mytilene and Cyme. If the singers of the Achæans celebrated the high rank of Agamemnon, his deeds, and those of Menelaus,—among the Ionians kings of Pylus were reigning of the family of Neleus. If the heroes of Pylus had not conducted the expedition, and had not been the first in battle, they might nevertheless have had a prominent share in the successes of the Greeks by wiliness, tact, and wise counsel. The Magnetes from Mount Ossa and Mount Pelion had penetrated farthest with their colonies into the countries of the Lydians and Carians. Northern Magnesia, on Mount Sipylus, lay nearest to the chief city of the Lydians; southern Magnesia, said to have been the first Greek settlement on the soil of Asia (p. 274), lay farthest inland on the Mæander. The Magnetes must accordingly have formerly sent the bravest and strongest heroes against Ilium. The coasts of the Magnetes, on the opposite peninsula, were taken up by the precipitous cliffs of Mount Pelion; the shore

belonged to the sea-nymphs, the Nereids, the daughters of Nereus, the old man of the sea; to them the coasts were sacred, and sacrifices were here offered to them.[1] Thus the singers might represent the valiant hero of the Magnetes, as himself derived from Mount Pelion; they gave him Peleus for his father, and Thetis (*i.e.* she who nourishes by the fruit-giving power of the water), the mightiest of the Nereids, for his mother; they described him as growing up with the spirit of Mount Pelion,—Chiron. The words of Patroclus to Achilles, in which he blames his inexorable anger, betray the invention of the singers—"Thee the rugged rocks and the blue sea produced."[2] But it was not only in bold attack that the colonists were practised; they had often, and for a long period, to defend themselves against hostile assaults; for example, the Achæans on the island before Lesbos and before Larisa (p. 227), the Ionians of Androclus in Samos and at Ephesus, the settlers at Priene. Beside the hero of the bold assault stood the hero of defence, Ajax of Salamis, "the tower of the Achæans," who bears the mighty shield, whose father is Telamon (*i.e.* the shield-strap); whose tribe in Attica called themselves Eurysacidæ (*i.e.* broad shieldmen), and worshipped their tribal ancestor Eurysaces, son of Ajax, in a special temple.

Still more obvious and definite subjects than the heroes for the singers were the gods who had favoured the voyage and conflict of the Greeks. The king of Argos had been the leader of the army; consequently Hera, the divine protectress of Argos, must have been friendly to the Greeks and hostile to the Trojans.

[1] Herod. 7, 191. Between Pheræ and Pharsalus lay the Thetideum (Eurip. *Androm.* 16-20; Strabo, p. 431). At Pharsalus Peleus is said to have resided.
[2] *Il.* 16, 34.

Ionians and Pylians had encamped with the Argives before Ilium; immediately after landing on the continent Androclus had founded a sanctuary to Athena on Mount Coressus (p. 263); the other cities of the Ionians in Asia also paid the highest honour to Athena as the guardian of their citadels, like their countrymen in Attica; consequently Athena was said to have protected the heroes of the Ionians, as Hera those of the Argives. Lastly, as we have seen, Poseidon was worshipped by the Ionians in their new abodes as zealously as beforetime in their ancient home on the shore of the isthmus and at Helice. Therefore Hera, Athena, and Poseidon must have been on the side of the Greeks, and adverse to Ilium.

The conflict of the Achæans of Lesbos against the Teucrians was going on while the singers were singing of the expedition of their ancestors against Ilium. The Teucrian race of the Gergithæ maintained itself on Mount Ida till the fifth century B.C. and longer. The ancestors of the princes of that race were represented by the minstrels as the opponents of the Atridæ, Achilles, and Ajax. The princes of Scepsis and Gergis are said to have traced their descent to ancient progenitors—to Dares and Æneas; the Greeks called Dares Hector.[1] These, accordingly, must have been the foremost heroes of the Trojans. Dares received the Greek name Hector, *i.e.* holder; he was to the minstrels the protector of Ilium; Æneas, since the dominion of his posterity, was still in existence, must have been saved out of the battles of that time and in the destruction of Ilium; likewise

[1] *Supra*, p. 237. In *Il.* 5, 9, the priest of Hephæstus is called Dares; *vide* Hesychius: *Δαρεῖος ὑπὸ Περσῶν ὁ φρόνιμος, ὑπὸ δὲ Φρυγῶν Ἕκτωρ.* The Phrygian form may have been Dares.

Scamandrius (Astyanax), son of Hector; the whole nation must not be destroyed, for "the power of Æneas should rule the Trojans, and his children's children."[1] In accordance with this, Arctinus sings more clearly: "Æneas departed with his own people out of Ilium to Mount Ida, before the city was taken."[2] For the genealogy of the Æneadæ the minstrels had merely a few names that were not Greek at their disposal, like Capys and Assaracus; for that of the ancient royal house of Ilium itself they employed the names of two Teucrian tribes, the Dardans and the Trojans; the former dwelt on the Hellespont, to the latter Ilium was assigned; Dardanus was made the tribal ancestor, and the singers made Erichthonius his successor; *i.e.* good land—a personification of the fruitful region of Ilium, rich in cattle and horses. From Tros sprang Ilos, and from Ilos (p. 235) Priam, a name which has no interpretation in the Greek language. The name of his son Paris is also not Greek, as the singers themselves confess in translating it by Alexander, according to which Paris may perhaps have signified the combatant. The remaining names attributed to the Trojans are, with few exceptions, *e.g.* that of Palmys, taken from the territory. The sons of Priam, Cebriones and Gergythion, manifestly owe their appellations to the Teucrian cities Cebren and Gergis; Scamandrius, Thymbrius, Simoisius, Ascanius, are formed from the names of rivers and towns in the Troad.

If it was a great combination of Greek heroes and tribes which had fought against Ilium, the Teucrians

[1] *Il.* 20, 307.

[2] Phot. *Bibl. Cod.* 239; Steph. Byz. Ἀσκάνια. Ἀρίσβη. Γεντῖνος. Strabo, p. 607; Dionys. Halic. *Antiq.* 1, 47. Sophocles, in the *Laocoon*, also made Æneas depart before the taking of the city, but to Phrygia.

must also have had allies on their side. If the new rulers of Lesbos were especially opposed to these, the people of Cyme found their opponents in the Mysians and Lydians; the southern Ionians in the Lydians, Carians, and Lycians—the Lycians siding with the Carians. Thus the Mysians, Mæonians (Lydians), Carians, and Lycians, were represented as the helpers of the Trojans, and the Phrygians from the interior of the country might also be associated with them.

The gods whom the tribes of the coasts had worshipped at the time of the landing of the Greeks (the Greeks adopted, as we have seen, these cults, in order to win over the ancient tutelary divinities of the citadels and towns for themselves), and who were invoked by the Teucrians on Mount Ida, must have been the defenders and protectors of the Trojans in these wars. On their shores at Cilla, Chryse, and Thymbra, the Teucrians (as before mentioned, p. 235) had called upon a sun-god in whom the Achæans recognised Apollo, as the Milesians recognised him in the god worshipped at Didyma by the Carians, and the Colophonians in the god worshipped at Clarus by the Lydians. The Lycians also worshipped with special zeal a god of light. On Mount Ida the Teucrians revered that female deity whose power awakened the impulse of love, who was favourable to birth and generation, but in her other aspect also brought war and death. This was the Ashera-Astarte of the Syrians, whose Semitic name recurs even here.[1] The Ionians had found at Ephesus the worship of a similar goddess in whose cult her warlike aspect first came under the notice of the Greeks: to her they gave the name of their Artemis. The goddess worshipped on

[1] *Supra*, p. 234.

Mount Ida especially symbolised the giving of the fruits of the earth. Apollo and Aphrodite had therefore been the protectors of Ilium, and beside them Artemis, in whom the other aspect of the goddess of Astyra in Mount Ida also found recognition in a secondary rank.

The question as to what had induced so many heroes of the Achæans to march against Ilium could not be left unanswered by the legend, especially as the Achæans had in any case been in the right, and the Teucrians in the wrong. Here, as elsewhere, the mythus came to the help of the legend. In the valley of the Eurotas, on the border of the domain held by the Achæans till the year 800 B.C., we have seen that there was, on the western declivity of Mount Parnon, at a considerable height, near the ancient Achæan fortress Therapne, a sanctuary of Helen and another of the Dioscuri, over a spot sacred to Phœbus. The name Helen signifies light, *i.e.* a goddess of light; which is also indicated by her worship in the neighbourhood of the Dioscuri—the first rays of the morning—and also by the festival of the Helenia which was held every year with the Hyacinthia of the great light-god Apollo. We have already seen that the Dorians adopted those cults from the Achæans when the taking of Amyclæ had at last been effected. The beautiful goddess of light bestowed beauty and grace.[1] If the Dioscuri are called the brothers of Helen, if Zeus was their father and hers in marriage with Leda, as he was the father of Apollo and Artemis in marriage with Leto, it is clear that this goddess was distinctly included in the circle of the beings of light. The whole ancient tradition of Laconia turns upon Helen and the Dioscuri, and the

[1] *Supra*, pp. 404, 405.

names and forms associated with them. The settlers thought that among the Teucrians a goddess of the same kind must also have been adored; this is indicated by the name of the seer Helenus, the son of Priam: prophecy belongs with the Greeks to the spirit of light, who sees through and unveils all things. It is possible that the worship of the warlike Aphrodite (the wandering Astarte, to whom the moonlight belonged), which the Phœnicians can be proved to have brought to Cythera on the coast of Laconia, may also have penetrated into the valley of the Eurotas, to which the union of the Helenia with the Hyacinthia, and the return of Paris to Ilium by way of Sidon, may refer.[1] We have already seen that Astarte, in the form of Artemis, was not alien to the Teucrians; on these data the goddess Helena became in the legend and for the singers the most beautiful of mortals, a king's daughter, the Queen of Sparta, whom Paris son of the king of Ilium carries off. Aphrodite has guided him from her throne on Mount Ida to her abode in Cythera, and endowed him with such a charm that he is able to beguile and lead away the wife of Menelaus. Even in the Homeric poems the original form of Helen reveals itself, when her house in Sparta shines "as the brightness of the sun or of the moon," when she herself "comes forth like Artemis with the golden arrow;" and her daughter possesses the beauty of the golden Aphrodite.[2]

[1] *Il.* 6, 292.

[2] *Odyss.* 4, 14, 122. The later writers were much puzzled to reconcile Helena the goddess, who still lived on in certain cults, with the adultress who was carried off. To avoid the discrepancy, Stesichorus, in the first half of the sixth century, feigned that Paris had not taken away Helen, but only a phantom of her. Euripides represents the gods as making a false Helen, whom Paris takes to Ilium, while Hermes transports the true Helen to King Proteus of Egypt. According to the

The Achæans and Ionians had had to fight long enough before they could firmly establish themselves on the coasts. Much time had elapsed before Androclus, passing from Samos to the mainland, had been able to fortify the hill of Coressus, before the Ionians had conquered Chios, before the Cymæans had come forth from their new fortress and subjugated Larisa (p. 227). So also had their forefathers' war around Ilium lasted long; they also had been forced to build fortresses here, and to defend their ships with fosses, walls, and towers. The Achæan colonists consisted of two divisions—Achæans from Argos, and Achæans from Thessaly. This distinction was transferred to the camp of their forefathers before Ilium. Who had then most distinguished themselves, those from the north or those from the south? The question easily became the basis of a sharp contrast. The emigrants from the north, the Magnetes, had indeed pressed boldly forward into the country; we have already seen that their arrival saved the Ionians from great pressure (p. 274). They had not, however, taken Ilium: it was the descendants of the Atridæ who were now successfully warring against the Teucrians, and lived and ruled at Assus, Sigeum, and Rhœteum. So also in those days the heroes of the northern Achæans may have put the Teucrians to flight, broken the power of the Trojans, and lost their

opinion of Herodotus, neither Helen nor her phantom was in Ilium; Paris was sent away with her to Egypt, where King Proteus, angry at the crime, took her away from Paris and detained her. Herodotus honestly regrets that the Trojans did not succeed in convincing the Greeks that Helen was not in their city: "The Trojans would never have been so misguided as to carry on war for ten years about a woman." All these accounts agree in asserting that Menelaus, when he was returning, found Helen in Egypt; for which story the Egyptian Isis, as in the wandering of Io, furnishes the groundwork; Stesichor. *Fragm.* 26, Bergk; Herod. 2, 119 ff; Eurip. *Hel.* 33 ff.

best chiefs; but they themselves cannot have penetrated into Ilium. With these elements were associated ancient Arian traits, frequently recurring in the *Epos* of the Indians and Germans—of the early death of an invincible young hero, and the destruction of a great princely house after a very hard conflict.

On such bases the legend of the war against Ilium grew up in constantly richer and more animated forms. The songs, in which it found expression, doubtless originated with the Achæan minstrels, were carefully preserved by them, and further and further enlarged. When they arrived at the Ionians, the deeds and the qualities of the heroes of Pylus and of Salamis were celebrated, and became united with the songs of the Achæans. If the war concerning Ilium principally belonged to the Achæans, the Ionians developed the songs about the return of the heroes to their homes. Mimnermus of Colophon, in the first half of the sixth century, still had vividly before his eyes how his forefathers, "leaving the lofty citadel of Neleus of Pylus," set sail for Asia (p. 274). It was of the keenest interest to learn how the heroes, after so long an absence before Ilium, had once more regained their homes, and whether, after such severe toils and struggles, they had here been rewarded. We have seen how the Ionians brought the worship of Poseidon, god of the sea,—whom they worshipped on the north-west coast of the Peloponnesus, at Helice,—to their new home, and here again established it (p. 272). An ancient legend, also of their tribe, of a prince who, returning home after a long voyage, finds his house in the power of intruders, and executes vengeance and retribution upon them, they no doubt transported with them to the Anatolian coast. The singers of Ionia

included the hero of this tradition in the circle of princes who fought against Ilium. The little island of Ithaca in the western sea, not very far from the ancient abodes of the Ægialieis, was represented in the Ionian legend as his home.[1] Accordingly this man became the hero who came from the farthest region against Ilium; he had also had the longest and most difficult return. His voyage took him round the whole peninsula and Cape Malea, and then northward up the Ionian Sea. This homeward journey verged upon the unknown distances of the west, the kingdom of the setting of the sun. As soon as the Ionians in their new abodes had attained some security against Carians and Lydians, Miletus, Phocæa, and Samos began to apply themselves to navigation; the stories of the mariners became current among them. The long homeward voyage, and the adventures which might have befallen the ancient heroes in the course of it, excited the more lively interest. Bound by sad recollections to the abandoned dwelling-places of the tribe, the ancient home, there were not wanting to the singers of the Ionians, elements for developing, upon this background, the legend of the return of Odysseus, and for giving it a more animated shape than all the songs which were sung about the return of the other heroes, the princes of Argos, Sparta, Pylus, and Salamis.

The long series of these songs of the battles of the heroes against Ilium—and their deeds and sufferings—as the interest in individual adventures slackened,

[1] The tradition clings to Ithaca and Cephallenia (Same). Such an insignificant island as Ithaca among the islands of the western sea could only have been made the scene of the legend by the inhabitants of the neighbouring coasts of Dyme and Helice, and brought by emigrants from those cities to the coast of Asia.

grew into one great epos. A fine poetic intuition perceived in the opposition of the northern and southern Achæans, in the anger of the greatest hero of the Magnetes against the leader of the expedition, the anger of Achilles, the turning-point of the war against Ilium. With the death of Hector the defence of Ilium was gone, and the final fall of the city, so long fought for, decided; Hector's fall was brought on by the death of Patroclus, which Achilles had to revenge; the death of Patroclus was occasioned by the inaction of Achilles, the sorest necessity of the Greeks arose from this inaction, which again was the result of a wrong done to Achilles by the leader of the Achæans. Thus the wrath of Achilles was the centre in which a portion of the songs were united into a whole, and to which they had to conform and ally themselves, or be discarded; while, on the other hand, new and previously unutilised situations resulted from it. The features which the songs had given to individual heroes were unchanged in their fundamental character, but they were now uniformly grouped, the uncertainties of the delineation were removed, it was carried out more firmly, delicately, and sharply. The poem is not entirely pervaded with the proud joy of conquest; it is not filled with exultant rejoicings over glorious deeds achieved, or successes attained, or the rich booty carried off. It celebrates, indeed, with manly joy and manly earnestness, the battle and the victory; but the labours and sorrows of the Achæans, the lamentations *over so many stately warriors who have fallen, and* over the sufferings in store for the survivors in their homes, through new disputes on their return, are heard as the keynote throughout. This mood of the poet seems to show that the youthful freshness of martial

life, and consequently the youthful joy in it, was over when the song of the heroes found this matchless consummation.

The songs of the journey home have also undergone a process of fusion into one poem. The point of union was given in that ancient legend of the Ionians, already mentioned, of a prince belonging to them, *i.e.* to the tribe which applied itself zealously to navigation after settling on the coast of Anatolia. From a still greater distance than the Ionians, from the islands of the west, this prince came to fight against Ilium, as the Ionians themselves had come from the north-west coasts of the Peloponnesus. The longest and most difficult return-journey, the terrible dangers which befell him in the course of it, required some motive. The divinities principally worshipped by the Ionians were Poseidon and Athena. The dangers of the voyage could only have been decreed by Poseidon. The hero must in some way have incurred the wrath of the god, and he could only have escaped these dangers ordained by the lord of the sea through divine help, the help of Athena. This poem, which celebrates the greatest dangers and the most wonderful adventures of the return of the expedition in the fate of Odysseus, has supplanted all other songs of the return, and likewise all songs concerning the particular deeds and sufferings of Odysseus; not because the greatest marvels are contained in it, nor even because in Odysseus the hero of undaunted perseverance, resources, and craft, the master of words, is opposed to the heroes of the stormy onslaught and defensive strength,—the centre of gravity of the poem, pervaded by the fresh sea-breezes in which the Ionians lived, is the longing for home, the picture of the home and the

princely house, where the king, the husband, and father is wanting. The kingdom is ruined, but faith of the wife is unshaken, the desire of the son his father is not at an end, and the sufferer's long for his land and home is only increased by each n hindrance. On this vividly and sympathetically co ceived background (to the striking delineation of wh the recollection of the unforgotten ancient home pro ably contributed in the mind of the Ionian singer) t perils and adventures of the hero take place, and contrast with their darkness house and home shine o the more brightly.

The moral fundamental conception is the same i both poems. Anger and punishment follow arroganc guilt, and crime; nobility of mind, steadfast courag unshaken truths are praised by mankind and honoure and rewarded by the gods. The Homeric *Epos* is th ripe fruit of a long development of an early awakened and fruitful period of Greek poetry. It is the assembling together and remodelling, the poetical new birth, of the songs in which the singers of the princes and nobles of the Achæans and Ionians had given expression to the legend of the war about Ilium and the return of the heroes. At the conclusion of a series of numerous songs which had grown up in this period, stand the songs of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The work previously done by the singer of the songs of the heroes brought the Homeric Epos to a brilliant conclusion. The grandeur, unity, and force of this poetry have caused all previous songs of adventures or conflicts, of particular heroes or incidents of the war, to perish, but not so entirely as that none of these have at a later time been interpolated in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, or that later and

more detailed poems have not been combined with earlier songs.

Neither the *Iliad* nor the *Odyssey* has come down to us in its original form. The tradition of both these great poems among the descendants, or the disciples of the singers who had sung them, imparted, together with their possession, the desire to make more poetry in the manner and style of the ancestor or the master; the custom of recitation of parts of these poems by rhapsody (afterwards introduced) may possibly have conduced to the separation and independence of particular pieces. The changes which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* hereafter underwent were not confined to the interpolation of particular songs which had been preserved with them, or had been added to them. Interpolations of this kind—such as we find in the *Iliad*, in the nocturnal adventure in the camp of the Trojans of the Dolonea, in the forging of new armour for Achilles, in the funeral games for Patroclus, and in the catalogue of Achæans and Trojans and their allies[1] —are easily to be distinguished; but it is more difficult to separate the imitations which have found place in both epics. In the *Iliad* this is shown by the

[1] Benedict Niese (*Homerische Schiffskatalog*) has shown that the Catalogue was appended to the *Iliad* when the poem was quite complete after the subsequent additions; that it was compiled after the founding of Cyrene, *i.e.* after the year 630 and before 600, in imitation of the similar catalogue—the Cypria; and for the Achæans, on the basis of a record of the Hellenic cantons, dating from the middle of the eighth century. The enumeration of the cities on the Propontis and on the Black Sea (*Il.* 2, 828-835; 851-855), in which Lampsacus (founded in 651) is called by its old name Pityea, can only date from a time when these coasts had become better known through the voyages of the Milesians. The Bœotian origin of the catalogue of the ships appears from the precedence of the Bœotians, from the minuteness with which Bœotia is treated, and the more accurate knowledge of central Hellas; it is clear that the *Eoæ*, and also the Catalogue, were composed in Bœotia in the second half of the seventh century.

reiteration of motives and situations of the older poem, by the more violent introduction of the world of gods, by a theogony, and by conceptions of a more fantastic and rhetorical cast, but especially by the fact that princes of Doric cities, princes of Crete and of Cnossus, are represented as taking part in the conflict against Ilium,[1] a trait which was, and must necessarily have been, alien to the ancient *Iliad*. The episode, also, which makes Heracles the legitimate heir to the throne of Mycenæ before Eurystheus must have had a Doric origin, and cannot have been introduced into the *Iliad* before the middle of the eighth century.[2] The ancient *Odyssey* represented the hero as returning from Ilium by the coasts of Thrace, and doing battle with the Cicones. As he was sailing round Cape Malea he was driven by the waves and violent winds from Cythera, and arrived after a nine days' voyage at the country of the eaters of the lotus, the enjoyment of which causes men to forget their home. His further adventures are included in the sphere of the mythus, with the Cyclopes, *i.e.* the round-eyed, in the region of Hades, in the island of Ogygia, "the navel of the sea," with Calypso (*i.e.* she who conceals), who retains the hero for nine years without inducing him to forget home, or wife, or child, even by the promise of immortality; with the kindred of the Gigantes—the Phæacians, who beforetime had been the neighbours of the Cyclopes in Hyperea, and in their obedience to law and proficiency in arts were, in the more ancient conception, beings as mythical as the Cyclopes in their wild barbarism. The destruction of the suitors, the recognition of Odysseus, and the renewal of the old union with the faithful Penelope, form the conclusion of

[1] Bergk, *Gr. Ltgsch.* 1, 552 ff. [2] *Il.* 19, 97-124; *supra*, pp. 215, 216.

the ancient *Odyssey*. Into this poem another has been interpolated which, like the later portion of the *Iliad*, is characterised by the introduction of the gods more frequently than is necessary. Odysseus in this later poem has to undergo a number of new adventures. It takes him to the Læstrygones, to the island of Æolus, to the island of Circe, to Scylla and Charybdis, to the wandering rocks and the Sirens, it unduly enlarges the representation of the under world in the ancient poem; and if the blinding of the Cyclopes is there the motive for the wrath of Poseidon, this motive is now repeated, as Calypso is reproduced in Circe, by the offence against Helios through the slaughter of his herds in Thrinacia. The interpolated poem went further, and invented Telemachus' journey of enquiry to Pylus and Sparta, modified and enlarged upon the events in Ithaca after the return of Odysseus in a manner by no means happy, and carried the ancient poem beyond the reunion of Odysseus and Penelope.[1]

According to the geographical horizon of the ancient *Iliad*, in which the broad, endless Hellespont is still the beginning of the eastern sea, the knowledge of whose shores ended eastward in the country of the Phrygians, it may be assumed that this poem was written before the voyages of the Milesians into the Black Sea had begun, *i.e.* before the year 800 B.C. It likewise results from the horizon of the ancient *Odyssey*, which in its whole conduct bears the stamp of a later type than that of the *Iliad*, that at the time it was composed the western sea beyond Ithaca was still wholly dark, the domain of fable and the mythus. It must therefore have been produced before the

[1] Kirchhoff, *Homerische Odyssee*, [2] p. 238 ff, 495 ff; Mullenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, I, 47 ff.

voyages of the Chalcidians and Phocæans to the west, to Sicily, *i.e.* before 750 B.C. These two dates would mark the state of things, later than which it would be impossible to place the ancient *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. How much earlier they go back it is hardly possible to determine even approximately. But if, as will be shown further on, the additions to the *Odyssey* were made before the year 700 B.C., the ancient songs of the *Odyssey* must have been sung before the institution of the Olympiads; and as the ancient *Odyssey* is already acquainted with the participation of the Cretan princes in the expedition against Ilium,[1] the poet must have known the ancient *Iliad* and the subsequent additions made to it.

Poetry could only have represented princes of Crete, Idomeneus, and Meriones as marching to the Trojan War, after the period when Doric settlers had gained fixed abodes in Crete; they could only have taken part in that war, when the ancient *Iliad* of the Achæans and Ionians had already come to the Dorians in the island, and had awakened in them the desire to see those descendants of the princes, who now ruled in Cnossus, fighting in the great conflict.[2] The colonies of the Dorians beyond the sea were of later date than those of the Achæans and Ionians; those of Epidaurus and Trœzen, and of Argos on the south-west point of Asia Minor, followed the settlements of the Dorians of Argos at Cnossus and at Rhodes, which, as we saw, were founded about the year 900 B.C. (p. 326).

The subsequent additions to the *Iliad* mention, besides Cnossus (the catalogue of the ships is here left out of the question), the city of Lyctus in Crete, that colony

[1] *Odyss* 19, 170 ff.
[2] Bergk, *Gr. Ligtch.* p. 651.

of the Achæans which was only founded in 800 B.C.[1] But if the ancient *Iliad* was so early known to the Dorians and Achæans in Crete, that Greco-Cretan princes gained entrance into it through the later additions, soon after the year 800 B.C. (at a later date they would have remained unknown to the singer of the ancient *Odyssey*), the ancient songs of the *Iliad* must have been sung a full century after the settlement of the Ionians in Asia Minor, somewhere about the year 850 B.C. The Homeric songs are said to have come from Crete to Sparta.[2] The theory that the ancient *Iliad* was sung about 850 B.C. would not contradict the opinion of Thucydides, who places Homer "long after the Trojan times,"[3] and it would agree with the view of Herodotus, who fixes his date four hundred years before his own time, *i.e.* about the year 850 B.C.[4]

The later poetry of the *Odyssey* has introduced into it the journey of Telemachus to Pylus and Sparta. This shows that Sparta must now have received a place in the songs of the Ionians. King Phintas of Messenia, who reigned over Pylus about the year 750 B.C., sent a sacred embassy to the sacrifice which the Ionians offered to Apollo at Delos (p. 278). Part of the new adventures of Odysseus, added by the later interpolations, are taken from the legend of the Argo, which is described in these very interpolations as "sung by all." The old mythus of the Argo, *i.e.* the mythus of the land of the sun in the east (p. 156), became transferred to the earth, developed and localised, when the ships of the Milesians became acquainted with the shores of the Propontis and the

[1] *Il.* 17, 611; *supra*, p. 421. [2] Plut. *Lyc.* 4. [3] Herod. 1, 3.
[4] Herod. 2, 53. The Parian Marble places Homer in 907 B.C., and Hesiod thirty years before Homer; *Ep.* 27, 28.

Black Sea, which certainly did not take place till after the year 800 B.C.. The landing of Odysseus on the peninsula of the Propontis, on which in 755 B.C. the city of Cyzicus was built, near the spring Artacia—in the later poetry of the *Odyssey*, is manifestly copied from an adventure which the Argonauts here met with; the wicked enchantress Circe, the daughter of the sun, is an imitation of the daughter of Æetes, ruler of Æa, the land of the sun. Medea the sorceress, in the voyage of the Argo, and the announcement of Circe to Odysseus, are taken from the prophecy of Teiresias in the older poem. In the later addition, moreover, Odysseus has to sail through the Planctæ, which the Argo by the assistance of Hera escaped, and which, in consequence of the voyages of the Milesians in the Black Sea, were fixed in that sea at the entrance to the Bosphorus. The fact that the voyage of Odysseus in the ancient poem is towards the west, and that the Argo in the mythus, tradition, and poem sailed to the east, did not deter the later poet from ascribing this enterprise to Odysseus. Thrinacia, the land of the cattle of the sun-god, Scylla and Charybdis, and the Sirens, he borrowed from the accounts of the western sea, where the Greeks had also meanwhile extended their knowledge.[1] Soon after the middle of the eighth century Chalcis and Corinth founded the first colonies on the west coast of Sicily. The development of the tradition and poetry of the Argonautic expedition can only have taken place between the years 800 and 750 B.C.; more exact knowledge of the west coast of Sicily cannot

[1] Müllenhoff, *Alterthumskunde*, 1, 52 ff. The later poet makes a freedman propose to Telemachus to send Theoclymenus to the Sicilians (*Od.* 20, 382), and introduces a Sicilian maid (*Od* 24, 211, 366, 389) and Sicanians (*Od.* 24, 307).

have existed on the shores of Anatolia very long before the conclusion of the eighth century. In accordance with all these indications, the later poetry of the *Odyssey* cannot be dated before the year 750 B.C., but also not more than a few decades later. A poet who desires to be listened to may extend the geographical horizon of his hearers, but he certainly must not venture to narrow the horizon known to his contemporaries. Naxos and Syracuse, Cyme and Zancle, Leontini, Catana, and Megara, were founded between 735 and 728 B.C. (Bk. 3, ch. 8). If these cities had been already standing for several years, it would no longer have been possible to sing of the western waters in the tone of the later poetry; Egypt, after it had been opened to the Greeks, could not have remained in the obscurity in which that poetry represents it. In the demonstrably latest portion of the *Odyssey* the last song, the author of which was manifestly posterior both to the ancient and subsequent poetry of that epic, it is mentioned as a usual custom that men should gird themselves before athletic contests;[1] this custom had at any rate been abandoned at the Olympic games in the year 720 B.C.

The most ancient evidences of acquaintanceship with the *Odyssey*, inclusive of the later additions, are to be found in the poet Alcman[2] who sang at Sparta, and in the poet of the *Nostoi*. The *Theogony*, and after this the *Eoæ*, which bear Hesiod's name (p. 126), and came to a conclusion before the year 600 B.C., are distinctly connected with Trinacria,[3] which belongs

[1] *Odyss.* 24, 88. [2] Alcman, *Fragm.* 23, 32, Bergk.

[3] Kirchhoff (*Homerische Odyssee*) has shown the agreement of the *Nostoi* with the return of Menelaus in the *Odyssey*, and with the marriage with the *Doule* at Sparta, in both poems. That the mention of the wanderings of Odysseus in the *Eoæ*, or in the catalogue, presupposes

to the later poetry of the *Odyssey*. Not long after, the Greeks saw at Olympia on the chest of Cypselus (which Periander of Corinth there dedicated), Odysseus in the cave of Circe, whither the later poetry had first brought him. If this later poetry was composed in the last third of the eighth century B.C., the composition of the ancient *Odyssey* cannot be placed much after 800 B.C., about the beginning of the Olympia.

the existence of the *Odyssey*, and the knowledge of it at that time, has been shown by the same writer. On the date of the composition of the catalogue, and of the *Eoæ*, in the second half of the seventh century, *vide infra*, Book 3, ch. 14.

CHAPTER XIII.

ETHICAL AND SOCIAL CULTURE.

It was only a meagre account of the fortunes of the cantons of the peninsula after the irruption of the Thessalians into the basin of the Peneus, and of the settlers on the coast of Asia, which could be gleaned from the tradition, even by our minute examination. Little more than the naked facts of the revolution accomplished, and uncertain outlines of the life of the Hellenes at that epoch—only the barest traces of the new ordinances which came into force on the peninsula and in the colonies, can be ascertained. Can this provoking hiatus be supplied by the rich picture which the *Epos*, sung in this period (if we have not incorrectly determined its origin and dates), draws of the life of its heroes, of their actions, and of the background from which their destinies stand out in relief? In regard to a poem of another cast sung at the conclusion of the period, this question might be answered in the affirmative. In regard to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* it could only be so if proof existed that their authors have described the life and manners of their own time and not of a poetical world which they considered fit for the period of their heroes.

More than once in the *Epos* a distinction is indicated between men "as they now are" and those who lived at the time of the Trojan War and the return

from it. The abodes of the tribes which the *Epos* assumes both in the original and added portions are not those of the time of the singers. With the exception of two or three incidental divergences, it is the ethnography of a past time which the *Epos* shows us. Thessalians, Bœotians, and Dorians are as little in question as Eleans and probably Æolians.[1]

To what circumstance the princes of Crete owed their admission among the combatants before Ilium we have already seen: they are taken for Achæan princes in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In certain traits, no doubt, the existing state of affairs is allowed to appear — for instance, where reference is made to the sacrifice to the god of Helice;[2] and the twelve ships of Odysseus are taken from the fixed number of the twelve Ionian cities. But the Ionians had already offered sacrifices to Poseidon at Helice on the shore of the Corinthian Gulf; and they are said to have already lived there in twelve communities.

The poets would not have ventured to narrow the geographical horizon of their time. Who would have believed a singer who knew less of countries and peoples than the circle of hearers who were listening to his words? From this circumstance, from the range of the poet's vision, we were able to gain certain data for the time of the composition of the *Iliad*, the ancient *Odyssey*, and the later poetry added to both. In the horizon of the *Iliad* lie the Ægean Sea and the coasts of the Thracians; the Hellespont is not a narrow strait, but the beginning of the limitless eastern

[1] This is naturally irrespective of the catalogue of ships. The Messenians (*Odyss.* 21, 15) belong to the latest part of the additions; the three sets of Dorians in Crete (*Odyss.* 19, 177), with the Pelasgians there, to a manifest forgery. *Il.* 5, 710; 13, 685; 11, 671, are divergences.

[2] *Supra*, p. 272. *Il.* 8, 203; 20, 404.

sea; behind Phrygia lies the fabled land of the Amazons; on the other side its knowledge extends to Cyprus and to the Phœnician coasts as far as Sidon. The later portion contents itself with adding the "milkers of mares" to the north of the Thracians. The ancient *Odyssey* knows only of the coasts of Libya stretching in endless distances opposite Cape Malea: there begins the unknown western sea, the region of the mythus. The range of vision in the later parts of the poem extends farther; the southern shore of the Propontis is known, and there is mention of the far north beyond the Black Sea;[1] the stream Ægyptus, the name and the hundred gates of the Egyptian Thebes, the island of Sicily—all these are introduced (p. 460, note).

The poet can venture to depart from the ethical standpoint of his time still less than to circumscribe its geographical horizon. No poet can move the souls of men who would, even if he could, impute to his heroes, in their thoughts and aspirations, their actions and feelings, their counsels and deeds, other motives than those by which he himself is animated: he can only set before them aims and ends which influence him and his age; which he himself holds to be right and good—the best and worthiest. In his personalities he draws the ethical type which floats before the mind of the many vaguely and unconsciously; and more clearly, and perhaps more consciously, before his own. In this sphere we may therefore trust the poems, always bearing in mind that the poet represents ethical principles and aims as they ought to be, and not as they were everywhere accepted and realised in his time—that he gives us in fact an ideal picture of

[1] In the mention of the shepherds of the Læstrygones, if these verses are not interpolated.

the prevailing ethics. It is otherwise with the political and social background depicted by him. Here we are uncertain how much he has taken from the conditions of his own period, and how much he has added or withdrawn, in order to bring them into harmony with his picture of antiquity. But we may no doubt assume that creations for the most part simple, like those of the Homeric poems, would not have departed very far from the basis of actual conditions.

Life in the *Epos* is founded upon battle and war. Only the man who is warlike, combative, and eager for the fight enjoys full honour. Princes and nobles rule because they are foremost in the battle. In their battles, however, they are to strive, more than for prey or for plunder, for fame among men. They are to prefer a glorious death to a long but inglorious life: each is to try and surpass his fellows in war. Even in serious warfare the trials of strength among the heroes seem to have been in their eyes the chief thing: brave warriors live on in the song of the minstrel. Yet it is not cool contempt of death which is required of them by the epic. They are not bound to contend with the strongest adversary or to fight where destruction is certain; there is no shame in yielding to superior force and withdrawing before it. Cleverness and cunning in battle are as valuable as aggressive valour. A wise courage and presence of mind in battle are the true qualities of the warrior; therefore, in the *Epos*, the goddess Athena is a better helper in the fight than the invincible Ares. These traits with which the *Epos* endows the Greek heroes may have corresponded with the prevailing temperament in the ninth and eighth centuries; at any rate they find abundant historical confirmation in later times.

Heroic courage and strength, cleverness and discretion, were not the only qualities, however, demanded by the *Epos*. He who desires to be honoured must call to mind the judgment of men on his actions. This judgment in the poem takes the place of conscience. Revenge is permitted, and vengeance for blood is a sacred duty, but the revenge is not to exceed the injury; passion must not reign unchecked; moderation must be observed. Right and custom must be regarded. Punishment will follow every crime and evil deed. Friendship, loyalty, and self-sacrifice between friend and friend, are highly commended. The temper of the noble man must be placable and yield to petitions; prayers are the daughters of Zeus who obtain for the man who hears them a hearing also with the gods. The ties which unite the family and the commonwealth and bind men to home and fatherland are highly extolled by the *Epos*. It would not be easy to find a more surprising instance in any other nation during a stormy epoch, where the picture and the claims of a system of ethics, naive and simple indeed, but humane and deeply felt, and based upon the fully recognised moral instincts of the human breast, were more vigorously brought forward than in the *Epos* of the Greeks.

Neither legend nor *Epos* recognises polygamy among the Greeks. In marriage the husband was to honour his wife and the wife was to keep faith with the husband. Marriage in the *Epos* rests upon the close and intimate relation between man and wife, on the harmonious disposition of both persons. It is eternal shame for the woman among men to break her marriage vow. To maintain devoted love and unshaken faith to her husband is the wife's fairest

ornament.[1] These foundations of marriage and of the family which the *Epos* faithfully emphasizes continued among the Hellenes; but the importance and consideration of the wife seem to have been less among the Ionians and the inhabitants of Attica in the later time than in the Ionic *Epos*. On the loyalty of the husband in marriage the *Epos* lays less stress than on that of the wife. Far from his home, he may no doubt have had intimacies with women taken in war, or with slaves who pleased him, without thereby transgressing against his wife and his marriage ties; it is not forbidden to the man to have a concubine besides his wife. The sons in the *Epos* leave the choice of their wives to their fathers;[2] at the father's command, or according to her own heart, the maiden follows the man. If the daughter was originally purchased from the father, even according to the *Epos*, the suitor must offer wealth to the father of the maiden, and must woo the bride with gifts and offerings, the father giving his daughter to him who brings the richest presents. In the house the wife is held in high honour; she rules over the maids and the slaves; she weaves and spins with them, but she is not shut up with the women; she appears when guests come to the house, and takes part in the conversation, and her opinion carries weight. The sons divide the inheritance of their father by lot, into equal portions; the illegitimate sons are provided for. The sons follow the rank of their father; children of a free man by a woman in slavery are themselves free.[3] The children owe love and reverence to their parents, as youth in general willingly accords respect to age; the curse of the father is the

[1] *Odyss.* 6, 181; *Il.* 9, 341. [2] *Il.* 9, 394; *Odyss.* 4, 10.
[3] *Odyss.* 14, 201 ff.

heaviest that can light upon the son; it brings evil even in the third and fourth generation.

Against the enemy all is lawful—every artifice, dissimulation, and outrage; there is no harm in treating foreign islands and cities in a hostile manner. Piracy and sudden attack upon tribes and cities with whom there is no league of friendship, the acquisition of rich possessions by such plunder, are considered neither wrong nor unworthy. Thucydides has already told us that some tribes of the continent, even in his time, held these actions to be honourable (p. 160). Even the conquered who threw down their weapons were put to death, kept as slaves, or sold into slavery. The prisoners, the wives and children of the conquered are slaves. Even the corpses of enemies were maltreated. At the funeral piles of fallen countrymen, the *Epos* shows us that prisoners were slain and burned in revenge. Though all this may be the echo of wild and fierce times of war, the martial law of the Greeks was uniformly cruel; not only was the most complete devastation of the enemy's country, even to the uprooting of trees, considered permissible, but the lives of the prisoners were forfeited to the victor; even after the fifth century prisoners were more than once slaughtered, man for man.

The treaties which are concluded and ratified upon oath with the enemy are, according to the *Epos*, to be maintained; the makers of the treaty call to witness Zeus the ruler, the all-seeing sun-god, the streams and rivers, and those who in the lower world punish the spirits of men who have perjured themselves. White lambs were offered to the celestial gods, and a black lamb to those of the infernal regions. At the libation which followed the sacrifice the prayer

run thus: That the brains of those who broke the oath and the blood of their children should flow to the earth as this wine flows, and that their wives should be dishonoured by strangers.

Outside his own state every one is defenceless, even to the herald; every stranger can be seized, made a slave, or killed, who is not taken by some member of the state under his protection. But the *Epos* brands it as an evil deed not to protect strangers who come peaceably; it is considered ungenerous to reject strangers who ask admittance into a house; it places beggars and strangers under the special protection of Zeus. The *Epos* likewise describes the conduct that is to be observed towards those in need of protection. It is not seemly to enquire immediately after the name and descent of the stranger. The stranger to whom a man has accorded protection he dismisses with gifts, and he who has taken the stranger under the protection of his house will assuredly find the same protection some day or other in the house of the stranger. Thus hospitality becomes an enduring relation, which is inherited by the sons from the father. The stranger who, praying for help, seats himself in the ashes of the hearth, acquires a definite right to protection. The sitting down at the hearth places him under the protection of the gods of the house; he has thereby become a member of the household. The master of the house must be the same to him whom he has left on his hearth as to all the other inmates.

We must not accept the traits presented by the *Epos* in regard to the order and life of the commonwealth for a faithful reflection of the conditions surrounding the poets, so certainly as we accepted its ethical conceptions for their ethical standpoint, *i.e.* for

the ideally-conceived standpoint of their times. But there are not wanting signs that the currents which affected the times of the poets influenced their delineations of the political life of antiquity. We know the limitations and the peculiar form given to the princely government in Sparta, even before the year 800 B.C., and we shall find later on that the principalities in the great majority of Greek states and in the cities on the coast of Asia, about the middle of the eighth century, had either submitted to the nobility while preserving certain prerogatives, or else had been entirely superseded by it; the position of the monarchy might, therefore, have been already shaken about the year 800 B.C. The relation indeed of Agamemnon to the rest of the princes of the great expedition, as given in the *Iliad*, presents no picture of the authority of a prince over his people; and when the young noblemen of Ithaca assume the rule of the island, it is not that the monarchy is dead, but that the king for the moment is wanting; moreover, the nobles do not wish to subvert the monarchy, but to make one of their own number king. Meanwhile there are isolated indications — such as the mention of the evil of a rule in which many share, the emphasis laid upon the authority of "Zeus-begotten, Zeus-sustained" kings, the importance ascribed by the *Odyssey* especially, to prudence in counsel and fluency in speech, the constant bringing forward of the popular assembly in the *Odyssey*, but, above all, the traces of the partisanship of the singers for the princes—which show that the maintenance of traditional authority was already called in question. We may certainly assume that in the ancient *Iliad* we have a poetical picture of political life in the middle of the ninth century; in the ancient *Odyssey* a representation

of political life in the first half of the eighth century; and in the additions to the *Odyssey*, of the currents of feeling in the middle of the eighth century. The *Epos* requires of the prince that he shall be strong and valiant in battle, wise in counsel, and eloquent in the assembly of the people. The gift of eloquence is almost always associated with valour. From the chiefs, especially the princes, it is required that they shall know how to give a right decision in the assembly and to support it with good reasons, that they may find willing obedience and be able to maintain their credit. In the *Odyssey* the market-place already appears as the central point of the commonwealth. On the other hand, the *Epos* advises and requires that even wrong-doing on the part of the king shall be borne.[1]

Not by his rank, however, but by his power, is the king distinguished from the chiefs. He associates with them as equal among equals, but it is his will that decides. The people appear as an obedient multitude, the individuals of which "are of no account either in war or in council;" they are the insignificant background, from which the actions and speeches of the princes and chiefs in battle and in the council stand out in clearer relief. The prince takes counsel with his nobles, generally at the repast, but he does not willingly bear contradiction; the people, when the king and nobles have sat in council, are summoned by heralds to the assembly, in the vicinity of the king's house, on the citadel, or in the market-place. The *Epos* teaches us that the assemblies must be held at the proper time of the day and finished before sunset, and that the people must be sober and without excitement. The chiefs sit on stones around the place of the king; the people sit

[1] *Odyss.* 4, 690 ff.

or stand about them in a circle. The heralds command silence, and pass to the speakers the staff which constitutes the permission to speak and the sign of the orator. But the assembly of the people only serves in reality for the king to declare his will and to make known his behests. A man of the people may perhaps upon occasion seize the staff of the orator, but clamorous speakers must expect blows; and, though the multitude cannot be forbidden to express its opinion of the will and commands of the king when it has heard them, by cries of approbation or by silence, there ultimately remains nothing for it but to obey. It is a sufficient proof of the wild and uncouth life of a tribe that it possesses no place of assembly and no court of justice.

The king has the command in war. According to the position of things he is followed by the chiefs, by volunteers of the people, or by the whole host, which is obliged to obey the orders of the king.[1] For the maintenance of the soldiers contributions are furnished by nobles and subjects. The king receives the best things—the portion of honour—from the plunder taken in war. The remainder he must honourably divide among the nobles, for they too have their rights. The highest duty of the king is to maintain peace in the land. He must rule over his people with gentleness, like the father of a family; prevent violence, and reward brave deeds. "Where the king, ruling in the fear of God, maintains justice and behaves uprightly, there he has the highest fame; there the earth brings forth rich fruits, the herds prosper, and the sea swarms with fish."[2] Therefore the king receives the best portions at the sacrifices and at the feast, and therefore do

[1] *Il.* 13, 669; 24, 400. *Odyss.* 14, 238. [2] *Odyss.* 19, 109 ff.

nobles and people honour the king with offerings and gifts.

Suicide, tyranny, and death, are to be met with commonly enough in the *Epos*, which shows that without the strong arm of the father and the husband wives and children are helpless and without resource, and that it is difficult for any one to maintain his rights or to protect himself from injustice. This right he had to seek from the king; and the *Epos* regards it as a sign of civilisation that each head of a house does not rule separately over his belongings, but that justice is done to all members of the state according to ancient custom.

To punish for murder, however, is not the affair of the king. To execute vengeance for a murder is the concern of the blood relations of the slain man. It is the fear of the vengeance of relatives which drives even the powerful man who has shed blood out of the country. The king does not protect the murderer against the avenging of blood; he lets it take its course. The *Epos* often mentions such exiles for murder, in order to account for the appearance of a stranger in countries at a distance from his home. To slay the murderer when he has taken him is the duty of the next of kin to the deceased. There is one way, however, of escaping the challenge of the relatives and the vengeance of blood. A man could buy them off; he could propitiate the relatives of the victim with rich gifts. For such atonement the father would forego his revenge for his murdered son, and the brother for his murdered brother; the murderer might then remain unscathed in the land.[1] If the murderer and the family of the murdered had come to terms respecting the

[1] *Il.* 9, 632 ff.

amount of the atonement, and if it had been paid, the murderer returned to the protection of the king; the injured family must then leave him in peace, and had no other claim against him.[1] We have already seen (p. 306) what far more serious demands were made at Delphi in the first half of the eighth century for judgment on murder, the atonement for it, and the purification of the murderer.

The sentence in law-suits is spoken by the king; he possesses both in peace and war the full power of punishment.[2] He decides the verdict himself in the popular assembly,[3] but causes it to be spoken by some noble or several nobles: he appoints for this purpose experienced and aged persons, Gerontes, *i.e.* old men from the midst of the nobles. The accuser and the accused appeared with their witnesses before the Gerontes, who sat on smooth stones in the open space where the popular assemblies were held; they had often many affairs to decide in one day, and came late to the repast.[4] The people listen to the speeches, take the side of the accuser or accused with loud cries, and can with difficulty be kept quiet by the herald. The judges decide according to precedent or equity. To pervert sacred justice is regarded in the *Epos* as a deed which must draw down the vengeance of the gods; Zeus punishes the maladministration of justice by plagues upon the country, and avenges perjury.

The favoured and privileged class consists of the possessors of ploughed land and pasture, by the proceeds of which their owners are in a position to devote themselves to arms, the giving of counsel, and awarding

[1] *Il.* 18, 498.
[2] *Il.* 2, 391-393; 15, 348 ff.
[3] The ἀγορά and the θέμιστες are always named together; *Odyss.* 2, 69; *Il.* 20, 4.
[4] *Odyss.* 12, 440.

of justice, while the slaves till the ground and tend the herds. In the colonies this class had arisen from the strangers who had conquered the country and taken possession of it. The *Epos* is well acquainted with the process of surrounding a new colony with walls and dividing the fields.[1] The warlike landowners who are about the king, his companions in the battle and at the council, appear in the *Epos* as a class specially favoured by the gods. But the freeman who possesses little can also raise himself by valiant deeds in war to this class. The joys of the banquet occupy a large space in the life of the nobles. Three times a day—early in the morning, at mid-day, and in the evening—there is eating and drinking. The nobles usually assemble themselves at all three meals around the king; they eat abundantly, and drink wine mixed with water, probably also through the night. Wine is always used; the *Epos* knows nothing of the ancient mead. Already different kinds of wine were distinguished according to their colours and the places which had produced them. The custom of lengthy meals and common drinking bouts in brilliantly lighted halls we find even in later times among the nobles of Lesbos and Colophon, and also among those of Thessaly, in full and even luxurious development. At the feast, according to the description of the *Odyssey*, the songs of the singers must not fail. In the position assigned them in the *Epos*, in the honour and esteem there claimed for them on account of their holy vocation, we see that the sacrificial worship of the singers, the religious origin of poetry, is not forgotten. The days of the nobles, besides the time spent during peace in the joys of the feast, are taken up with

[1] *Odyss.* 6, 10.

councils of the princes, with finding and giving judicial sentences, with transactions before the assembled people, with military and bodily exercises, with draughts and dice, and lastly also with the oversight of the slaves, the herds, and the harvests. The young nobles exercise themselves in choric dances and the use of weapons. They hunt with swift hounds the lion and the boar; and kill wild goats, hares, and deer. Or the ships put to sea, and are manned; and a surprise or a plundering expedition is undertaken.

The mode of fighting described in the *Epos* is hardly that of the time in which it was sung; the poets no doubt wished to give the manner of antiquity, and probably depicted this with great accuracy. That the princes once fought on war-chariots in front of their soldiers, the ancient grave-stones in the circle behind the gate of lions at Mycenæ have already shown us (p. 40). It was that mode of fighting which we first encountered at Babylon, in Assyria, and Syria, which was adopted in Egypt after the expulsion of the Hyksos by the Pharaohs, and on the other side was handed on from the Assyrians to the Medes and Persians, and to the Arians on the Indus. That this custom once actually existed and was deeply rooted among the Greeks also (they may have borrowed it from the Carians, whose military equipment they imitated in other respects) is attested not only by the grave-stones at Mycenæ, but also by the circumstance that the race with the four-horse chariot was, soon after the beginning of the seventh century, an essential part of the Olympic games, and that the victory with the chariot was celebrated there as the greatest victory; and also by the custom according to which, at great sacrifices and festal processions, the horses of

the nobility appeared in parade. The ancient *Iliad* only recognises the war-chariot with two horses; the after additions first introduce the chariot of four horses on two or three occasions.[1] Aristotle tells us that "in the old time," in Maghesia (on the Mæander), in most of the Ionian cities in Asia, and at Chalcis in Eubœa, it was usual to fight on horseback. This custom was probably borrowed from the Lydians. The *Epos* nowhere mentions fighting on horseback. The bow, which in the *Epos* is a highly-esteemed and much-used weapon, is absent, like the chariot from the military tactics of the Greeks, after the time that we possess historical accounts of them: shooting with the bow found no place among the Olympic contests: only in the great Persian War was this weapon again temporarily and occasionally adopted. The chief weapon of the heroes of the *Epos* is the lance, which was principally employed as a javelin. Callinus also, at the beginning of the seventh century, represents the dying warrior as throwing the lance.[2] From the middle of the seventh century onwards we find indeed that fighting on horseback was still in repute among the Ionians in Asia, the Thessalians, and Bœotians; otherwise fighting on foot with the spear takes the foremost place throughout the whole course of Greek history.

In the delineation of social and domestic life the singers of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* probably departed little from the conditions of their epoch. The *Odyssey* shows us the houses of the princes as great walled farms, where, in the outer court, neither stalls nor sheds nor even dung-heaps are wanting. A great hall, the walls of which among the Phæacians are overlaid with bronze plates, with the hearth, forms the centre of the

[1] *Il.* 8, 185; 11, 669; 15, 680.

[2] *Fragm* 1 Bergk

dwelling-house; from this hall there is entrance to the women's apartments, the armoury, the treasure-chamber, and the rooms of the male and female attendants. This picture of the princes' house must have been taken from the royal dwellings of the Ionians in the days of the singers. The princes possess innumerable herds, together with fields, vineyards, and olive-gardens. Their chief wealth consists in herds of horses, cattle, swine, and sheep. Oxen or mules draw the plough; the ripe grain is cut with the sickle, and bound in sheaves, oxen tread out the corn on the ground made hard by their stamping. Freedmen without property hire themselves out to a master for service in the fields and tending of the herds, for food and clothing, and a certain amount of corn. Service as a hireling was considered endurable with princes and nobles,[1] but a very hard fate if the master were a peasant of small possessions.[2] The relation of princes and nobles to the freed servants and slaves is described as close, and in particular instances affectionate. The princes sit down with their herdsmen to meals; among the Ætolians and Arcadians, who had no purchased slaves, we find even in the fifth century masters and servants at one table. The designation of servants in the *Epos* as members of the household (οἰκέται), and of slaves as the vanquished (δμῶες), indicates that the slaves principally consisted of prisoners taken in war. Besides these the *Epos* also recognises bought slaves—persons stolen or taken in the way of trade by Greeks, and others of Greek or foreign descent purchased from Phœnician ships. Long and faithful service from a slave was rewarded by a benevolent master with the gift of freedom; he also

[1] *Odyss.* 4, 644. [2] *Odyss.* 11, 490.

provided him in that case with house and farm and a piece of land. Slaves who had attempted to escape were visited with cruel punishments, such as mutilation, and death by torture.

The wives of the princes, with the slaves, weave garments and tapestry of linen and wool. But we hear also of spinners for hire. Industry and skill in mechanical arts are in full force in the *Epos*. Forgers of weapons and workers in bronze, who are paid for their labours, carpenters, leather-workers, makers of chariots, and potters, are often mentioned.

With regard to navigation and commerce, the *Epos* evidently does not describe the period to which it owes its origin; its object is manifestly to present us with a more ancient picture, more in accordance with the times of the Trojan heroes. The ships of the Phœnicians carry on commerce. They bring to the Hellenes objects of art, tin, gold, silver, electrum, ivory, costly garments and utensils. The Greeks sell prisoners of war, wine, and corn; copper is bartered for iron. The Phœnicians also carry off Greek women, steal Greek boys on the coasts, or persuade some Greek to sail with them in order to sell him in foreign lands. The most beautiful things in the treasure-chambers of the princes—brightly glittering garments, artistic works in brass, the best ornaments of the women, golden necklaces adorned with electrum—are in the *Epos* the handiwork of Sidonian men and women. Commerce is carried on in the way of barter. Wine is exchanged for skins, cattle, or slaves. Brass, iron, and gold are employed as the means of exchange. The worth of goods, and also the price of slaves is estimated by cattle. One suit of armour is valued at nine oxen, another at a hundred oxen; one female

slave is worth four, another twenty head of cattle. Coined gold is not in use. Gold (silver is comparatively little mentioned) is weighed. The talent (*i.e.* the weight) signifies in the *Epos* a not very considerable weight of gold.[1]

In the ninth and eighth centuries the Phœnicians can scarcely have retained the navigation and commerce of the Ægean Sea exclusively in their hands; even in the *Odyssey* their ships appear only as friendly trading vessels. After the Ionians had colonised the Cyclades, and the Ionians were living on both shores of the Ægean Sea, meeting their countrymen from this side and that, in spring, at the festival of Apollo at Delos, when Crete and Rhodes were occupied by Greeks, the Phœnicians could not possibly be the only traders in these waters. It is true that even before the period when they had founded their stations on the east coast of Hellas, and after these had been established, the Phœnicians brought their works of art to the Greeks; it is true also that in the ninth and eighth centuries works in brass came to the Greeks from the Phœnicians, and, both at that period and long afterwards, tissues and coloured stuffs; but the Greeks, since their residence on the coasts of Asia, had also become acquainted with the artistic skill of the Lydians. Trade and commerce in Greece were long, as the *Epos* says, merely barter; value and price were long estimated by cattle; even in Draco's laws we find certain expiatory payments adjudged according to this standard; gold and silver long continued to be simply weighed out; and then when the settlers in Crete had learned the Phœnician weights, and the Ionians had acquired from the Lydians a fixed system of

[1] Bœckh, *Metrologie*, p. 33.

weights and measures, gold and silver bars weighed and stamped, began to be employed, until the princes of Phocæa first—and afterwards Agamemnon of Cyme and Phidon of Argos—struck coins for the Greeks towards the middle of the eighth century.

From quite another standpoint than that of the *Epos*, and respecting classes of society which the *Epos* scarcely touches, a poem of a widely different kind, originating in the first half of the eighth century, gives us also some information. However zealously heroic poems were maintained and cultivated among the Ionians even after the time when the *Iliad* and the ancient *Odyssey* were sung—however earnestly their singers tried to continue the Homeric poems (Arctinus of Miletus added to the *Iliad* the battles of the Achæans with the Amazons before Ilium, the conflict of Achilles with Penthesilea and with Memnon the Ethiopian, the death of Achilles, and the taking of Ilium by the wooden horse[1]), a singer in the mother-country on the other side of the Ægean Sea, a native of Cyme, carried epic verse, the form of the heroic song, into the events of daily life. This singer did not sing to celebrate the deeds of kings, or the nobles who ruled under them, he gave expression to the events of the narrow circle in which he moved, to the fortunes of his own domestic life, to the labour of the man who must gain his living if he will not starve—to the life, in short, of the peasants.

Hesiod was, as he himself tells us, the son of Dios of Cyme,[2] that city which Achæans and Locrians from

[1] Phot. *Bibl. Cod.* 239.

[2] That Hesiod must have been older than Eumelus, Bergk (*Grch. Ltgsch.* 1, 937) shows, as it seems to me, by cogent arguments, and in the most perfect harmony with the tradition which makes Hesiod directly follow Homer. Accordingly, I should venture to place Hesiod

Mount Phricium had founded. Dios took to the sea to support himself, he left the "majestic streets of Cyme," as the Homeric epigram calls them;[1] not leaving behind him "wealth and superfluity," says his son, "but evil poverty which Zeus gives to men, he crossed the distant sea in a black ship, and settled on Mount Helicon at Ascra, the wretched village, where the winter is bad and the summer oppressive."[2] Ascra lay in the region of Thespiæ. After the father's death the two sons, Perses and Hesiod, divided the paternal inheritance.[3] Not satisfied with his share, Perses went to law with his brother; the judgment was given in his favour. Still not satisfied even with this success, he threatened Hesiod with a new lawsuit, "having already robbed him of much," as Hesiod assures us.[4] This lawsuit Hesiod tries to avert by serious warnings, which he addresses to his brother, and whereby he endeavours to win him to a laborious, active, and useful life.

In what strong language Hesiod declares his opinion that the first sentence was obtained by bribing the judge, what emphatic warnings he addresses to the king not to pervert justice, we have already seen.

in the first half of the eighth century, as the poem of Eumelus belongs to the second half. According to Solinus, Hesiod died shortly before the first Olympiad (40, 17); according to Vellejus, in the year 800 (1, 5. 1, 7). I admit that the frequent mention of kings in the *Works and Days* does not prove that the monarchy still existed in Thespiæ—Archons and Gerontes were also called βασιλεῖς—but neither does it prove the contrary. Pausanias' statement that the monarchy was done away in Thebes after the death of Xanthus (9, 5, 15) proves no more than the supposed abolition of the monarchy after the death of Codrus. In Corinth the monarchy fell in 745; if the Thebans twenty years after had their aristocracy arranged by a Corinthian, I should infer that the monarchy in Thebes did not come to an end before 750 B.C.

[1] 4, 15, 16.
[2] *Opp. et Dies*, 630 ff.
[3] *Loc. cit.* 37.
[4] *Loc. cit.* 37, 38.

"Consider, ye kings," he says, "that the gods concern themselves with unjust sentences. Zeus knows what justice reigns in the public mind.[1] Three myriads of spirits, the watchers whom Zeus has set over men, wander enveloped in mist throughout the whole earth, to mark unrighteous judgment and evil deeds. Justice is the maidenly daughter of Zeus;[2] she sighs when 'gift-devouring men' pervert the holy ordinances to false judgment, and entreats her father that the people may be punished for the wickedness of the king who has administered justice crookedly."[3]

Hesiod requires his brother Perses to forego further litigation. It may happen for once that a man gains the victory in it, but in the end right is stronger than wrong.[4] He who knowingly enforces his false testimony with an oath and violates justice, his family shall consume away in darkness; but the family of him who swore truth shall flourish more gloriously after him; and to him who speaks justly in the market-place Zeus will give riches.[5] "Hearken therefore, Perses, to the right, and do not heap up the gains of injustice any higher.[6] We will decide our strife in the future according to the even justice, according to the right ordinances, which Zeus has instituted;[7] we will fight the good fight, the rivalry of labour, as the neighbour vies with the neighbour whom he sees in prosperity. I say to thee fair words, O very foolish Perses! Wickedness you can very easily gain in a heap; the way is short, and it dwells nigh thee. Before virtue the immortals have set toil; long and steep and difficult in the beginning is the way to it.

[1] *Loc. cit.* 269. [2] *Loc. cit.* 257. [3] *Supra*, p. 314.
[4] *Op.* 218. [5] *Ib.* 280. [6] *Ib.* 213. [7] *Ib.* 35.

But if thou hast attained to the summit it is afterwards easy."[1]

In this manner Hesiod describes to his brother how a pious and virtuous man must live. He dwells upon the duties which are incumbent upon men towards the gods. Labour is no disgrace, but idleness is so. "Work, Perses, that hunger may remain far from thee, and Demeter with the beautiful wreath be friendly; the immortals love the diligent man.[2] Keep friendship with thy neighbour. Call him to thy repast, and mete out to him more abundant measure than he has measured to thee;[3] visit him who visited thee; give willingly to him who gave to thee, but not to him who refused to give to thee.[4] Do not avoid, with sullen mind, the feast of the community; the expense is small; the enjoyment in common is among the greatest.[5] Choose thy friend with prudence; and be careful to keep him; if thou bargainest with him about payment, let witnesses be present; confidence as well as mistrust injures many.[6] Be not the first to vex thy friend; be sincere with him, and if thou hast at any time offended him, be ready to make double atonement to him: if he first extends his hand for reconciliation take it willingly. Evil is that man who has now this person and now that for his friend.[7] He also is hated of Zeus who injures the stranger begging for protection, who sins against his aged father with contemptuous words, who acts unjustly towards orphan children, who reproaches the poor man with the wretched lot which the gods have decreed for him.[8]

"Do not allow thyself to be deceived by a pleasing

[1] *Ib.* 286. [2] *Ib.* 300, 310. [3] *Ib.* 342 ff. [4] *Ib.* 350 ff.
[5] *Ib.* 723. [6] *Ib.* 370. [7] *Ib.* 707 ff. [8] *Ib.* 327.

woman. He who trusts in woman trusts to a deceiver.[1] But that a son may bloom for thee, who may receive and increase the possession that thou didst inherit, choose for thyself in marriage a maiden, not too long before, and not too long after thy thirtieth year, she herself being in the fifth of her maidenly prime. Seek out an industrious maiden in thy neighbourhood. For as a bad wife is the greatest evil which can befall a man, so he can attain no nobler good than a pious and chaste consort.

"Wouldest thou arrive at prosperity through diligent labour, bring thy affairs into a wise order. Look out first for a house and for good servants. The man-servant must be without a wife, the maid-servant without children.[2] Procure all the tools that are wanted for work; let mill and mortar and plough be of dry wood which thou hast ready in the house. Laurel and elm furnish the best wood for shafts; from the oak take the timber which is made fast with nails to the beam of the plough. Two heifers, nine years old, strong and active, are necessary for the plough; let the forty years old servant follow them, who is bent upon drawing the furrows evenly; a younger man has not his heart in the work, and gapes after his companions.[3] For breakfast thou must give the ploughman, before he sets out, eight slices of square bread.

"When the Pleiades set, to remain hidden for forty nights, that is the time to sow. Let a boy at the sowing go behind thee, and with a rake cover the seeds, that the birds may not carry them off. Joy I promise thee then in the spring; then thou needest not look to others; the needy man will hope in thee, and all will wonder at thy harvest. Not so if thou

[1] *Ib.* 371 ff. [2] *Ib.* 600. [3] *Ib.* 420 ff.

tillest thy fields at the winter solstice; miserable will be the harvest, and thou wilt bring it home covered with dust. But Zeus does not allow one year to be like another. Mark then the time when the cuckoo first calls from the leaves of the oak, and Zeus rains for three days: perhaps, then, thy seed may prosper, and the late plougher may be equal to the early sower.[1] Even in winter the diligent man increases his store; quickly he goes to the smithy and passes by the inn. The man who sits the winter long in shelter will not have enough for his living. Provide well against the winter: admonish thy servants also to build huts in the summer. For the north wind blows destructively, which covers the fields with ice, and makes the sea boil up with foam. Then protect thyself with a warm shirt and a soft mantle. Bind sandals of ox-hide, lined with felt, upon thy feet; take to thee skins of a ram of the first year and tie them with ox sinews, and place thy hat upon thy head, that thy ears may not be frozen when Boreas blows in the morning, and the fog rises from the earth and spreads itself over the field.[2] The sun appears later, and longer lasts our sleep at night. Then also we require less food. Take good heed of this, and give to the ox likewise only the half of his daily fodder until the earth again brings forth new growth. But when, after the solstice, Zeus has accomplished the sixtieth day of winter, when Arcturus once more in full brightness rises in the evening from the sacred flood of Ocean, then hasten to cut the vines before the swallow returns. But if the Pleiades arise, and if the bee begins to climb the plants from the earth, then it is time to sharpen the sickle for the harvest; then it is well to be busy and to shun the morning

[1] *Ib.* 480 ff. [2] *Ib.* 490 ff.

sleep and the shady seat. The morning hour is trebly prosperous, before the sun scorches the skin. Then bring home the fruits of the field.[1] But when the thistle blows and the cricket sings its cheerful song, then rest thy heated body in the shade of the rock, and strengthen thyself with wine of Naxos, mixed with clear water from the spring, and with goats' milk, with barley bread, and meat from the firstlings of the cow and of the goat.[2] As soon as Orion appears, command the servants to get the sheaves trodden out on the well-stamped barn floor in an airy place, and collect the measured store in well-preserved vessels. Straw and fodder, as much as is needful for the sustenance of the beasts, bear into the barn. Keep also sharp-toothed dogs and feed them well, that they may guard thy store from thieves. Then thou canst unharness the oxen and let the servants rest until Orion and Sirius ascend the heavens in the midst, and Arcturus appears with the dawn. That is the time for gathering the grapes. Bring them in and lay them for fifteen days in the open air; ten in sunshine, five in shadow; then put the gift of the beneficent Dionysus into vessels. But when the autumn rains descend and the leaves fall, then cut wood before the new sap rises in the trees and make for thyself good trunks."[3]

Of Hesiod's life we know little beyond what is extracted above from his poem. As to his death, there was a legend, as Thucydides tells us, among the

[1] *Ib.* 564 ff. [2] *Ib.* 580 ff.

[3] The genuineness of the nucleus of the *Works and Days* is undoubted. The least altered portion (I say nothing of the manifest forgery of the fable of Pandora) is the first part of the poem, which is composed in a lively and individual style; the second has plainly undergone many additions, and has been extended to a sort of calendar. On the interpolation of the funeral games of Amphidamas of Chalcis, and Hesiod's victory there, *vide infra*, Book 3, ch. 8.

Ozolian Locrians that Hesiod had come to his end among them.[1] Here, at Oenium, so ran the story, he had been thrown into the sea by the sons of his guest-friend Ganyctor, who regarded the poet as the seducer of their sister. The body was borne to shore by dolphins; the murderers were punished by drowning, in retribution for their crime, but the bones of the poet were buried on the spot. These are said to have been subsequently transported by the command of the god of Delphi to Orchomenus, whither the Ascræans had fled after the destruction of their city by the Thespians. In the market-place of Orchomenus stood a monument to the poet; the Thespians likewise erected a memorial pillar afterwards to their fellow-countryman of Ascra, which also stood in the market-place.[2]

[1] Thucyd. 3, 95, 96.

[2] Bergk, *Grch. Ltgsch.* 1, 923; Friedel, *Die Sage vom Tode Hesiods.* It is curious that the guest of Oenium, in Eratosthenes and Pausanias, should be called Ganyctor, as well as the son of Amphidamas of Chalcis, who prepares the funeral games at which Hesiod is said to have won the victory with his song.

CHAPTER XIV.

NEW AND OLD ELEMENTS OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF.

THE religious possessions of the Greeks which we have examined in the previous pages had been augmented long before the period of the migrations by those cults which the Phœnicians brought to the shores of the Hellenic cantons; by the worship of Zeus Laphystius, *i.e.* of El, to whom belongs the first-born; by the worship of the Syrian goddess whom the Greeks sometimes call Aphrodite, sometimes Artemis or Athena-Hellotis and Aphrodite-Areia, with her Amazons and Hetæræ; by the worship of Baal-Melkarth, *i.e.* of Heracles and Melicertes, and of Baal-Moloch, *i.e.* of the bull of Marathon, of Eurygyes and of Hyacinthus, *i.e.* of Adonis. The Greek settlers had found worships, some of a similar kind, and some identical with these, on the islands and coasts of the Ægean Sea, among the Teucrians, Lydians, and Carians, in Crete and Rhodes; the worship of the sun-god in Troas, in Lydia, and at Rhodes; of Sandon, on the coasts of Lydia, in whom they recognised, on the one hand their Heracles, and on the other their Apollo; also the worship of a goddess who was sometimes fruit-bestowing and sometimes destructive; and in Crete and Rhodes the worship of the angry bull-god. We have seen that to the Greeks the divinities, whose worship they found on the islands and coasts which

they conquered, were the rulers and lords of these places; they would not have considered themselves secure in their new possession if they had not paid reverence to its protectors, or had not been able to gain their favour. So they transferred the worship of the sun-god and his oracles at Didyma to Miletus and to Clarus near Colophon;[1] from the worship of this god by the Termilæ, their country acquired among the Greeks the name of the light-land (Lycia); the clear and mild climate of Lycia and its eastern situation made the Greeks suppose that Apollo remained during the winter in this brighter land. In Samos the Ionian colonists (p. 263) found the worship of a goddess, who, being married to the god, gave fruit and blessing; it is that mythus of Astarte, who finally yields to Melkarth; of Omphale, who finally yields to Sandon; of the marriage of Melkarth and Astarte in the far west, in the Hesperides, from which life and blessing flow. The colonists recognised their Hera in this goddess. Her sanctuary at Samos stood near the town, below it, on the shore at the mouth of the Imbrasus; the sanctuaries of the Syrian goddess, who bore fruit from moisture, were situated near ponds, or on the seashore. Every year the new lords of the island celebrated the holy marriage, as the colonists in Crete celebrated the marriage of Zeus and Europa (p. 429). At Samos the image of the goddess disappeared at this feast out of the temple (as that of Astarte did at Sidon), was found again and brought back to the sanctuary adorned as a bride for her marriage with Zeus.[2] Of the worship of the warlike Artemis, who was at the same time the goddess with many breasts, whom the Ionian colonists

[1] *Supra*, p. 279. [2] Welcker, *Gotterlehre*, 1, 364.

transferred to Ephesus, we have already spoken (*sup.* p. 280).

Of still greater importance than these additions to their world of gods, for the religious consciousness of the Greeks was the growth of the heroic song—the *Epos*—side by side with the hymn. The *Epos* celebrated, strongly and copiously, the deeds of the heroes. The gods must not be behind the heroes. Thus the singers of the *Epos* were unconsciously impelled to emphasize the old intuitions—the sensuous and poetical, but still shadowy conceptions of the gods, created by the hieratic poetry—more sharply; to draw those large and grand but hazy outlines of ancient times more firmly; to give the forms of the gods flesh and blood. They were obliged to shape the gods according to the measure and pattern of the figures of the heroes, to translate their operations and qualities into actions and events, if the life of heaven was not to be inferior to the heroic life. Thus by degrees there came more fixed lines into the fantastic world of gods of the Hellenes, and the numerous spirits who had peopled heaven and earth were developed into visible personalities of definite and plastic forms.

The imagination of the Hellenes is not inferior in capacity to that of the Indians. On the Ganges, in the midst of the grandest scenes of nature, and a contemplative and inactive life, the Indians had annihilated the earth in favour of the gods. Among the Greeks in Asia, under a mild sky, in a constantly active life of conflict and colonisation, the flight of imagination found in this tangible work a powerful counterpoise. The fancy was prevented by the force and extent of real life from becoming transcendental. It could not develop its pictures into an exclusive world of heaven, and

isolate this from the world of fact. The world of the gods and that of men, of fancy and of reality, rather counterbalanced one another in a certain equality, and interpenetrated one another, to form a poetry full of active life. The forms of the gods in the Homeric poems have not lost the significance of the natural forces, natural phenomena, and appearances of the heavens, of which they were the personifications and incarnations; they still reign as before over and in the physical world: but side by side with this natural signification, which remains the background of their essential character and nature, the old ethical signification—that of the spirits of light—was more strongly emphasized; the ethical powers by whom the Greeks, in the ninth century, felt themselves governed, were placed in the forms of the gods, and, together with the natural aspect, were moulded and coined into very characteristic personalities. The ethical impulses which held together the family, the commonwealth, and the state, were now embodied in the gods.

It is, as we have seen, an ancient Arian conception which we find in the *Epos* when Oceanus, the water of the sky, which became to the poets the stream encircling the earth, is said to be the "origin of the gods and of all existence" (p. 168). Among the Greeks likewise fruitfulness and prosperity were to be had neither in their old nor their new territories without water; from the stream of life—of water—all life and existence must have their origin; out of Ocean arises the morning light, from it Helios emerges, in it the stars bathe themselves; it is the fountain of all rivers and streams and of the sea.[1] The ancient notions of the conflict between the spirits of light and the spirits of darkness

[1] *Il.* 14, 201, 302 ff; 21, 195; 7, 422; 8, 485.

have receded into the background; in the Homeric poems the battle has been already fought out; the dark powers have been hurled back into the darkness, to the ends of the earth, under the earth. From those cults of the highest god of heaven of the Phœnicians—of El, to whom belongs the first-born—which the settlers found in Crete, and in the place of which they substituted the worship of their god Zeus, there grew up the idea that Cronos had ruled before Zeus, that the dark powers had reigned before the light-gods, and therefrom arose further the notion of the derivation of Zeus from Cronos, as we find it in the Homeric poems (p. 432). If Zeus assembles the thunderclouds around him, in order afterwards to come forth from this veil, from the mantle of clouds, as the god of light; if Pallas Athene broke forth from the dark and tempestuous sky in ever new and victorious clearness; if Helios-Apollo, the light of every day, sprang from light and twilight, the dark powers may well have reigned before the powers of light, and the latter have arisen from the former. The "crooked-souled" dark Cronos, in the Homeric poems, is overcome by his bright son, and imbedded deep under the earth, in Tartarus.

The mountain of the gods in heaven, on which, according to the old Arian conception, the beneficent light spirits dwell in eternal brightness, to which no fog, no snow, and no dark clouds can penetrate, the *Epos* brings down to Mount Olympus, which was already in ancient times sacred to the gods. Here dwells Zeus with the blessed gods (who, when once a genealogy had been given to Zeus, were likewise placed in a genealogical connection), like a king upon earth, with his companions, in perpetual enjoyment and daily feasting, till the sun sinks, and each goes to rest

in his habitation. The gods feed upon ambrosia, *i.e.* immortal food (*amrita*), and drink nectar, the drink of life and of forgetfulness, from the heavenly spring at the table of Zeus; they enjoy the music of the lyre which Apollo plays, in the songs and dances of the nymphs of the springs of Olympus—the Muses, and refresh themselves with the odour of the sacrifices which are burned to them. The fortunes of nations and cities, the adventures of heroes, these engage the sympathy and activity of the gods. As the chiefs assemble themselves in council, so Zeus calls the gods together to direct human destinies and to declare his decisions to them. The gods love the pious, brave, and prudent man; they cast down to destruction the man who is arrogant and wicked. But they also, according to their inclinations, help one mortal and are hostile to another. A particular hero is protected by this divinity and persecuted by that; Athena loves one chief, and Poseidon some other. The gods are swayed by human passions—by love and hate, friendship and jealousy, anger and envy. So sings in loyal simplicity the ancient poetry; the later represents the gods as engaging in disputes and quarrels, and attempts to outwit and deceive each other. The gods love to be near the heroes in their deeds. Like Mitra, Surya, and Indra, like the princes, the gods have their chariots. The "lightning-loving" Zeus, when Eos appears in yellow and red garments, harnesses his bronze-footed steeds with golden manes to the chariot, puts on his golden robe, and drives with his golden whip the coursers which carry him midway between the heaven of stars and the earth to Mount Ida. There he halts, seats himself on the summit, and looks down on the city of the Trojans and the ships of the Achæans.

Opposite to him Poseidon plunges with his team of horses from the salt flood—from his glittering palace in the depth of the sea at Ægæ—and takes his place on the summit of the lofty forest mountain of the island of Samothrace. Only the power of Zeus is sufficient to rule from afar by his mandates. The other deities can merely bring their influence to bear by means of the ægis, the bolt, their waves and winds; they must therefore descend in their own, or in some assumed form, if they would interfere in the destinies of men. Above the gods stands that which is assigned to each man—his destiny (Aisa, Mœra). Sometimes this destiny is identical with the will of the gods, sometimes Zeus has to weigh and ascertain the destiny by the scales; and the gods must then carry it out even against their wills. Extraordinary efforts of the heroes, or the wild uproar of the elements, may, however, cause some things to happen in opposition to destiny.

Zeus is not only called the father of gods, but also the father of men, *i.e.* of the heroic races. From the sons begotten by him in marriage with mortal women—from Perseus, Æacus, Heracles, Perithous, Minos—the races of the kings have sprung, the divinely descended, divinely protected princes of the earth. From the king of heaven the kings of the earth have their honour and their right; Zeus it is who presides over order and justice, he punishes perjury, awards victory or defeat in the battle, gives to men riches or poverty. The god of the fountains and streams, and of the sea—Poseidon—"the oldest and best of the gods" (p. 187), whose altars were raised upon the tongues of land, the promontories, the isthmuses, as well as on the sandy stretches of the shore, is the protector of navigation, a horse-tamer, a knightly god, a

builder of walls. Poseidon binds the waves, the horses of the sea; and as the training of horses for the chariot-fight was then indispensable, Poseidon became the divine patron of equestrian exercises. The swiftest horses before Ilium, those of Achilles, were given to Peleus by Poseidon; the Harpyia Podarge, *i.e.* the sea-storm with the white feet, the white foam crests of the billows, had borne them. In contemplating their sea-girt territories, the notion had grown up among the Greeks, as we have seen, that Poseidon had raised the islands and cliffs out of the sea; thus Poseidon was now regarded also as the god who raised and fortified the rocky walls of the cities. Poseidon consequently became a founder of cities. As a military god of battles he is, together with Zeus, a progenitor of heroes, an ancestor of kings. He is the father of Pelias of Iolcus, of Ægeus of Athens, of the Thesidæ, and of the Melanthidæ; from him descend the kings of the Ionian cities in Asia. The Ionians had worshipped him in their old home on the shore (Ægialus); Neleus of Miletus built an altar to him after their landing, upon the strand; the Ionic cities brought him common offerings at Mycale. Consequently, as we have before observed, his attitude in the *Epos* was favourable to the Greeks and hostile to the Trojans.

The god of the morning wind, Hermes, possesses still his staff of blessing and abundance; but in the *Epos* he is for the most part merely the swift and good messenger of Zeus. He guides men on their way, and bears souls to Hades; and the messengers of the king are under the protection of the messenger of heaven. In the spirit of fire, Hephæstus, the *Epos* recognises only the skilful smith, who knows how to make for the heroes impenetrable armour, shields, and

greaves. To the princes and military chiefs mechanical work was a base occupation, however necessary and skilful it might be. According to this view, Hephæstus became in the *Epos* a good-natured and vigorous handicraftsman. He limps round to fill the cups of the gods on Mount Olympus, beginning at the right hand. And when these songs place Aphrodite or one of the Charites beside the lame smith, this is to indicate the beauty and charm of the art which prospers in the sooty hands of Hephæstus. But the poem has not forgotten that fire has come down in the lightning from heaven to earth. Zeus has once thrown Hephæstus from heaven to earth when he opposed him; his fall lasted a day, until he descended in Lemnos. In Lemnos there smoked a great fire-emitting mountain; the island, an abode of the ancient Phœnician settlers and arts, worshipped the god whose workshop was in their cliffs, and whose trade was carried on here. So Lemnos must have been the place of Hephæstus' descent. As to the gods of agriculture and of the fields, or Demeter, the singers of the heroic deeds of antiquity of the princes and chiefs had no occasion to speak of them. The exclusively agrarian divinities scarcely emerge from the background; Hestia, to whom the Greeks at every sacrifice offered the first gift (p. 183), is not even named. The spirit of the libation of orgiastic devotion, the giver of inspiration, of exalted life, is hardly alluded to.

The goddess of the heavenly water, of the tempest, the conqueror of the dæmons—Pallas, maintains in the *Epos* the high position which was hers in the most ancient conception of the Greeks next the god of heaven; only that, in the case of this goddess

also the agrarian side remains altogether unnoticed. She has become in the *Epos* the masculine daughter of Zeus. From the god of heaven, who guides the destinies of men, she is endowed with the highest wisdom and the wisest counsel; her bright countenance (the blue sky) and her kindling eye have become the expression for clear and penetrating intelligence. She is the wisdom emanating from heaven, the prudent counsel, the well-considered deed, the helper, the best protectress in the conflicts and troubles of life. No doubt she also continued in the *Epos* to be the mighty female warrior, who bestows strength and courage; but the Homeric poets, especially, love to bring forward the contrast of her tactics, the superiority of her fighting—the superiority of well-practised, discreet warfare, over the wild onslaught, over Ares. Ares is in the *Epos* a powerful giant; but the wild rush, the battle-cry, the rude and disorderly combat, yield to the calm force of Pallas, which is guided by discretion.

The shape of the light-god is unchanged in the *Epos*. Numerous as were the cults of the Anatolian sun-god, in which the colonists recognised their Apollo, alien as many forms of worship may have been which were transferred from these cults, he still remained the "king," the ruler Apollo, pure and sacred as his light, who does not suffer impurity and defilement, and punishes the sinner with his arrows. Once Apollo kept the oxen of heaven, *i.e.* the bright, transparent, golden, glittering clouds; in the later conception of the *Epos* he keeps the herds of Admetus of Pheræ, and the oxen of Laomedon of Ilium; the aspect of the god in which he ripens the seeds, is foreign to the *Epos*. On Mount Olympus the deity who leads

the seasons up and down in orderly rhythm, rejoices the gods with his song, as the poets sing at the banquets of the kings of the earth. Alone of all the gods, Apollo, in the *Epos*, is propitiated by poems and choric songs; to him, as to Athena and Poseidon, hecatombs, *i.e.* great sacrifices of oxen, sometimes a hundred, sometimes twelve, are offered.

The "fair-crowned" "cow-eyed" Hera, whose genesis has been enquired into above (p. 190), is seated in the *Epos* on a golden throne beside the god of heaven; she shares the dominion with him, holds her protecting hand over marriages among them, and gives them prosperity. As the tribes desired, and were supposed to be descended from the princes and heroes whom Zeus had begotten in marriage with nymphs and mortal women, a motive herein was furnished to the *Epos* for the jealousy of Hera against her husband; this is often introduced; the later poems indeed do not even shrink from allowing Zeus to enforce the right of chastisement.[1] If Hera became to the Greeks the house-wife of Zeus, they thus exalted the Syrian goddess of birth—who was worshipped with prostitution; whose worship the colonies of the Phœnicians had brought to Cythera, to Acrocorinth, and to Attica; whom the Greeks found at Cyprus; to whom belonged (among the Syrians) the fruitful water, fishes and doves—to be the goddess of pleasure, of the irresistible charm of love. The goddess who had once descended from the ships of the Phœnicians, and was worshipped at Cythera, now in the imagination of the Greeks arose at Cythera from the foam of the sea. A hymn, composed in the Homeric tone, narrates very beautifully how the goddess was borne by the west

[1] *Il.* 1, 586 ff; 17 ff.

wind and the waves from Cythera to the coasts of Cyprus and how the Hours of the spring adorn her, and conduct the violet-crowned "goddess to the immortals."[1]

The changed tendency, in regard to the conception of the gods, which had begun with the heroic song, and had attained in the Homeric hymns to proportionate development, had deep roots in the religious notions of the Greeks. It was not only that the ancient intuitions were enriched by new elements and motives; all these spirits had become animate forms, whose activity was directed at least as essentially to the deeds and destinies of men as to the movement of natural life. The human aspect had won the victory as completely over the natural aspect of the gods as over the vague and shifting form of the ancient intuitions. The gods were now inextricably bound up with ordinary life,—with the legends of the country, with the history of the royal houses. The many names and forms of the gods, which were as multifarious and abundant among the Greeks as the hymns of the *Veda* represent them to have been in the ancient period of the Indians, had given abundant material to the heroic poems for increasing the number of ancient heroes. Old and now unintelligible appellations of the gods, with their deeds—*i.e.* the myths which were the basis of these names—were separated by the *Epos* from the forms of the gods, and made into independent heroic figures: even the divine forms of antiquity themselves became heroes, and now animated the legends of the territories in which as gods they had been principally worshipped. Thus the Açvins, the Dioscuri, are warlike heroes, and princes of

[1] *Hymn. Hom.* 5; *Theogony*, 188 ff.

the districts which worshipped them: the Dioscuri of Therapne are Castor and Polydeuces; those of Messenia, Idas and Lynceus; those of Attica the Anaces; those of Thebes the Princes Amphion and Zethos; Apollo-Perseus became the hero Perseus of Argos; Apollo-Bellerophontes a hero of Corinth. As a deity resembling Apollo was also zealously worshipped in Lycia, Bellerophontes must go to Lycia in order to conquer hostile powers there. An episode inserted into the *Iliad* then made Bellerophontes the ancestor of the kings of Lycia.

It was a poetical religion at which the Greeks had arrived through their heroic poetry and its telling conclusion in the Homeric Epos. The habitual custom of the recitation of these poems by the singers at the feast of princes and nobles, and subsequently by the rhapsodists on the festival days of great sacrifices, the dramatic effect of all this on the susceptible temperament of the Greeks at these solemn and exciting assemblies, must have been of an extraordinary kind. The shapes of the gods and heroes could not be brought before a people in a more impressive and living manner. The picture of Olympus which the *Epos* has drawn must have worked upon the mind and feelings of the Hellenes, and exercised a decisive influence upon their religious notions. In this sense Herodotus is undoubtedly right in his assertion that Homer and Hesiod had created their gods for the Greeks. The religion of the Hellenes had received a poetical canon. It was the fruit of the separation steadfastly maintained between the sacrificer of offerings and the singer of hymns; of the circumstance that the families of the priests did not leave the circle of political life, and, in consequence of the divided

nature of the cantons, never became a community; and it then further contributed to prevent the formation of an exclusive priestly class among the Greeks. The heaven of this canon was a world such as might exist, among men, sketched with naïve simplicity. Man was not in opposition to heaven. With open glance, with upraised head, he stood over against these ideal types of his own nature; he worshipped them with a cheerful and joyful heart, not with anxiety and dread, nor with ascetic self-denial. There was no question, as with the Arian on the Ganges, of man's crushing out his corporeal nature in order to be justified before these gods: nor was it supposed that man should mutilate or wholly deny one side of his nature, whether physical or spiritual, to conform to their will—*i.e.* to their nature. Nothing was required of him but to live out his nature in its nobler impulses, to follow the good promptings of his heart: he must only moderate the fire of his senses, the heat of his passions, and keep them under the intelligent rule of wisdom. The moderation of natural impulses, the moderation of sensations and passions—that is all that the ethics of the *Epos* require of man. The *Epos* presupposes that natural feeling, the immediate moral instinct teaches men to honour the bond of marriage, the ties of friendship, of the brotherhood, and of the state; it is the natural sense of honour which places the brave man above the coward, and the strong man above the weak; a right amount of self-respect gives the rule that a man must return the blow that he has received, but that hate and revenge must not be pushed further than the injury extended. These ethics of healthy sensation, of immediate moral feeling—this naïve humanism—were sanctioned by the religion of the *Epos*.

It would, however, be a serious error to suppose, that the religion of the Hellenes consisted solely of the poetical picture of Olympus, described in the Homeric poems. Over against the sacrifice and libation in these poems, by which the gods were bidden to the feasts of men, and a part of the food was reserved for them which the men were eating (pieces of the haunch of the animal and bones covered with fat), stood the traditional worship in its full extent, with usages consecrated by age, with numerous local cults, with intuitions of the nature of the gods, powerfully operating on the religious feelings through the ceremonial and rites of the festival, though not perhaps actually expressed. There were certain aspects of the essential character of the gods, belonging to nature or to ethics, which the cultus accentuated and maintained. It has been rightly observed that the *Epos* of the Greeks, greatly as it affected their conceptions, at no period and in no place attained to a determinate influence and currency in their worship. The counterpoise formed by the traditional worship, as against the religion of the poets, grew stronger, in proportion as, beside the ancient sanctuary of Dodona, the temple at Delphi, the sanctuaries of Didyma at Miletus and of Clarus at Colophon, acquired special veneration, and when these, on the strength of that veneration, were able to exercise a priestly influence over a wider or narrower sphere of Hellenic life. Great as was the influence of the Homeric poems on the religion of the Greeks, it was far from exhausting that religion. It was not merely that the agrarian gods and the agrarian worships stood side by side with the gods of the *Epos*: a glance at the calendar of tribes, at the ancient ritual of the numerous festivals of the gods, at the rites for

purification, will suffice to show the power which was exercised by the practical religion, beside the poetical.

How definitely the intuitions of ancient times lived on in the minds of the people we see from the poem of Hesiod of Ascra, the *Works and Days*, written in the first half of the eighth century (p. 482); not only in the clear mention of old notions, but most of all in the rules for purification there given. To these ancient intuitions belongs, as before noticed (p. 482), the description in this poem of the first race of men, living without labour and toil, to whom miserable old age came not near, and for whom the ground bore fruit of itself; of the golden age, from which the poem leads down through the silver age, when boyhood still lasts a hundred years, but godlessness and strife reign; through the warlike age of the iron race which destroys itself with its own hand; lastly, through the heroic age, when there was the war about Thebes and Ilium, to the iron age, in which, by day and by night, trouble and sorrow and heavy cares will never cease, but in which goodness and nobleness are also intermingled with these evils. To the notions of antiquity belongs likewise the statement that the spirits of the men of the first race wander according to the will of Zeus, clothed in air, over the earth, as guardians of mortals, whose good and evil deeds they watch, and, exercising the office of kings, bestow wealth (p. 484).

The Greeks were little less anxious than the Arians on the Indus and in Iran to preserve themselves from pollution. With them also the opinion was held that the darkness, and with the darkness impurity, uncleanness, and confusion, belonged to the evil spirits and gave them power over men. In the

Homeric poems no one goes to the sacrifice without having purified himself and put on clean garments for solemn prayer; to pour libations of wine to the gods with unwashed hands, to pour them to different gods out of the same vessel, before the vessel had been newly washed, was a sin.[1] According to the *Works and Days* wine in the early morning should not be poured out to Zeus and the immortals with unwashed hands; no one should approach the hearth uncleansed, nor pass through the stream before he has prayed to the flood. Every morning and evening the gods are to be worshipped with libations and incense. The poem further describes when the marriage-bed is to be avoided, how and where natural necessities are to be satisfied, so that roads, water, and streams, may not be polluted, with scarcely less care than the law of Manu and the books of ritual of the Brahmans. Even in much later times we find anxious attention to a great number of observances in regard to purification. On recovery from sickness, which was regarded as a defilement, washings with sea-water must be undergone; the clothes which are polluted by sickness must be destroyed; they were thrown into the sea. Before the women celebrated the festival of the Thesmophoria, they were obliged for a certain time to forego the marriage-couch. Cohabitation, childbed, contact with a corpse, entrance into a house where a dead person lay, with the Greeks, as with the Arians in Iran, caused defilement. After a funeral all the belongings of the dead must undergo purification. Before every house of death stood vessels of consecrated water, which were to be brought from another house, and with this water those leaving the house must

[1] *Il.* 1, 314; 6, 266; 16, 228. *Odyss.* 4, 750; 22, 478 ff.

sprinkle themselves. Graves must lie far from the sanctuary; dying persons defiled the temple. Contact with a woman after childbirth was avoided. Her purification, and the purification of those who had assisted her during the birth, as well as that of the new-born child, took place on the fifth or ninth day after the event; the woman, however, must keep away from the temple still longer—for forty days. At the entrance of the holy precincts of the gods vessels of purification with water were set for those who went in; the water was purified by plunging a firebrand into it from the altar. Animals, especially dogs, were excluded from the holy places. It was a sin to spit or to blow the nose in rivers or streams and in the holy precincts of the gods. Only in new, or newly-washed clothes, unstained, with shining skin, reconciled and purified, with a pure body and a pure mind, must men come before the pure gods, and tread, first with the right foot, the floor of the temple. Every pollution prevented intercourse with the gods. Greater purification was insured by salt water than by water from the spring, and it was still further strengthened by the mixture of salt or of sacrificial ashes from the altar. Other means of cleansing consisted in fumigations with incense, or different kinds of wood suitable for the purpose, especially laurel wood; the ancient purification, through fumigation by sulphur, was particularly efficacious. On this account sulphur was itself called "the Divine."[1] After this purification there was to be a sprinkling, if possible, with the pure running water of streams, or with salt or sea-water. The most potent cleansing was effected by a laurel-bough which had been dipped in the water of purifica-

[1] Eurip. *Electr.* 792 ff; Theocrit. *Idyll.* 24, 94.

tion, particularly a twig from the laurel-grove of Apollo at Delphi; to this was attributed a special power of atonement (pp. 293, 306, 3).

In difficult cases of purification the process must be strengthened by sacrifices for sin and cleansing. Young sucking-pigs were the animals usually offered in cases where impurity, which might be offensive to the gods, had to be wiped out; if, however, the anger of the gods had to be averted, *i.e.* if a proper sin-offering was to be brought, it was mostly a ram, and this was generally offered to Zeus. No feast was begun, no assembly was opened, before any uncleanness which might be present had been taken away. In Athens sucking-pigs were offered for this purpose, and the place was sprinkled with their blood, to which was ascribed the power of removing impurity. For not only individuals but states had to be careful about their purity; they might be polluted by the fault of those belonging to them, and exposed to the wrath of the gods. There were regular festivals of atonement held, at which the fleece of a ram sacrificed to Zeus (*Διὸς κώδιον*) was carried round, in order to do away with all uncleanness. Extraordinary crimes and sins could only be atoned for by extraordinary purifications and expiations of the land in which they had been committed. The worst defilement was that of blood shed by murder (p. 305). It not only gave the avenging spirits power over the murderer, but he had polluted his country and his people. Even in the fifth century the Spartans demanded of the Athenians that they should banish the posterity of those who, more than a century and a half previously, had polluted Attica through wicked murder, and thereby restore the purity of the country.

In the anxiety of the Greeks about preserving the purity of fire, old Arian notions are likewise perceptible. A death in the house polluted the fire of the hearth. An invasion, an encampment of the enemy in the land, polluted the fire of the country. The emigrants carried holy fire from the Prytanea of the mother cities into their new abodes. In Lemnos all fires were annually put out, because they were polluted by the sins of the year, and new fire was brought from the altar of Apollo at Delos. The Spartan army took fire from their altars at home with them into the field. The torch-races served for the kindling of new altar fires for the use of festivals. It was prescribed what kinds of wood the special fire at the offering of this or that god required; at Olympia only the wood of the white poplar might be used; and the sacred lamp of Athena in the Erechtheum at Athens might only be fed with the oil of the olive-trees belonging to the goddess. When Delphi had become the chief seat of the worship of Apollo, the altar of the pure god there afforded the best and purest fire.[1] The very detailed usage of sacrifice which we find in force among the Hellenes, the exact observances of the nature and quality of the animals offered, were in part traditional, and in part seem, as in the case of the inspection of the entrails, in which the liver of the animal was chiefly concerned, to have received their developed form from Delphi. From Delphi too the custom may also have been derived of crowning the sacrifices, which placed those offering them under the protection of the divinity to whom the sacrifice was brought—a custom alien to the Homeric poems. The signs of the offering were very anxiously observed, and it was considered absolutely

[1] Plut. *Aristid.* ch. 20.

necessary in important undertakings, and immediately before battle, to go on sacrificing until favourable omens were obtained. Plato requires for his pattern state that in regard to purifications the rule of Delphi should be followed.[1]

[1] *Laws*, p. 685.

CHAPTER XV.

THE TRIBAL GROUPS.

However isolated and individual, according to the divisions of their country, was the shape assumed by the life of the Hellenes,—however firmly the same character was impressed upon the new commonwealths on the islands and coasts of Asia through the manner in which the spread of the Hellenes across the Ægean Sea and to the western shores of the opposite continent had been accomplished,—the conflicts and storms of the migrations had nevertheless created new dispositions of the tribes, and common destinies had brought the populations of separate cantons nearer to one another. There were likewise other relations which drew groups of cantons and cities more closely together, and founded a sort of commonwealth within these groups. Not only did the sacrificial leagues of Anthela and Calauria on the peninsula, those of the Ionians in Delos, the common sacrifices of Ionians and Dorians on the coasts of Asia Minor and Mycale, and on the Triopium, bind together (loosely enough, it is true) larger circles of commonwealths, but community of descent and community of dialect held together groups of states and cantons in a closer connection, and gave them a point of union with other groups of a similar kind.

From very ancient times the tribes which occupied

the south of Bœotia, Attica, Eubœa, and the north coast of the Peloponnesus, had been designated by a common name, that of the Ionians. Subsequently the Thessalians, and the inhabitants of a mountain district, the Dorians, very considerably strengthened indeed by warriors of a different origin, had founded a whole series of independent communities of greater or lesser extent. Before them, portions of the ancient population of Thessalia, Bœotia, and Peloponnesus, and the Ionians, fled across the sea to the islands of the Ægean and the coasts of Asia Minor. Finally, also, portions of the new populations of the Peloponnesus, a section of the Dorians, passed over the water, settled in Crete and Rhodes, colonised the islands opposite the southern coast of Caria, and then erected cities on that coast itself. There now lay on the west coast of Asia Minor, and on the islands in front of it, colonies of the Peloponnesus and the ancient populations that had emigrated from the centre and north of Hellas; colonies of the Ionians who had emigrated from Attica, and settlements of the Dorians, side by side in three groups. The cities of the Ionians and Dorians were more closely united by community of origin and dialect, and by the common sacrifices which the Ionians offered to Poseidon at Mycale, and the Dorians to Apollo on the promontory of Triopium. The colonies of the Ionians and Dorians bore the names of the tribes in the mother country from which they had emigrated; the northern colonies were inhabited by Achæans from the Peloponnesus and from Phthiotis, by Magnetes from Mount Pelion, and by Locrians. Beside the Ionians and Dorians this third neighbouring group must not be left without a general designation. The settlements in the north received the name of the cities

of the Æolians, *i.e.* of the various, the mixed; their population was descended from different tribes and different cantons. In the *Works and Days*, Hesiod tells us that his father had left the Æolian Cyme; and an ancient poetical fragment in the Homeric tone calls Smyrna a city of the "Æolians."[1] We are therefore certain that this name was in use about the middle of the eighth century for the group of northern colonies, and therefore had doubtless been employed since the beginning of that century.

When it had become customary to see the Hellenes divided into three distinct branches, side by side with one another, it was easy and obvious to transfer these groups and divisions to the peninsula and to the whole nation. The Ionians had maintained Attica and Eubœa in the mother country, but at the same time had settled themselves in the Cyclades and on the Anatolian coast; the Dorians, from small beginnings, had greatly extended themselves; they ruled in Corinth and Sicyon, in Argos, Laconia, and Messene, and, like the Ionians, had their colonies on the islands and coasts of Asia. Over against these two great groups of states and cities derived from uniform roots, stood, as was the case of the Dorians and Ionians of Asia in regard to the Asiatic communities of other origin, the totality of the tribes on the peninsula who were not Doric and not Ionic. They were the populations of the mother country most nearly related to the Æolians of Asia. The dialects of the Thessalians, Bœotians, Phocians, Locrians, and Ætolians, did not differ so noticeably from one another that they might not seem also to have a tribal connection. Thus it came to pass that the entire mass of the inhabitants of the Greek peninsula,

[1] *Opp. et Dies*, 636; *Epigr. Hom.* 4, 6.

so far as they were neither of Doric nor Ionic race, came to be alike designated as Æolians. As the collective name under which the Hellenes described the ancient period, and their forefathers in that period—the name Pelasgians—remained attached to one tribe, the Pelasgiotes of the lower valley of the Peneus, and to the territory once belonging to them and once inhabited by them there—so the collective name, which before the time of the emigration was in use for the tribes of the Hellenes, that of the Achæans, clung to two tribes which at that time were, or were said to have been, foremost in importance, namely, the old population of Argos, which, driven out from thence, had occupied the north-west coast of the Peloponnesus (subsequently named after them) and the Phthiotes of the mountain districts in the south of the basin of the Peneus (p. 289). The application of the Achæan name to these two tribes and districts caused a fourth race, that of the Achæans, to be associated with the three great races.

"There dwell," says Strabo, "many tribes of Greeks without (northwards of) and within (to the south of) the isthmus; generally speaking, however, only as many as there are dialects, and of these there are four. All without the isthmus, with the exception of the Athenians, the Megarians, and the Dorians of Mount Parnassus, are still called Æolians. And as the Æolian people predominates without the isthmus, those within it were also called Æolians; for the Ionians from Attica who had settled on the coast were soon driven out again by the Achæans, a branch of the Æolians, before the interminglement that took place when the Heraclidæ led back the Dorians who founded Megara and the greater part of the common-

wealths in the Peloponnesus. Thus there were now two tribes in the Peloponnesus, the Doric and the Æolic, for the Eleans are of Æolic descent. The Dorians were also Æolic in their descent and language; but as there were few of them, and they inhabited the most rugged land, and did not mix with the rest, they changed their speech and customs less than the others. The same thing happened to the Athenians. They had always occupied their land, and remained uninvaded, and this was evidently the reason that they, though not numerous, became a people with another mode of speech and other customs. The Ionic speech, I maintain, is the same as the ancient Attic; for the inhabitants of Attica at that period were called Ionians, and from Attica came the Ionians who settled in Asia, and who now use the dialect, called Ionic, of the tribes within (to the south of) the isthmus; the Arcadians and Eleans speak the Doric dialect; the rest a mixture of the Doric and Æolic, some approximating more and some less to the Æolic; almost every commonwealth has even now a different dialect. It seems that they all adopt Doric in consequence of the predominance of the Dorians."[1]

Strabo's opinion leads us to suppose that from the totality—from the Æolians (the common name by which the Greeks were henceforth to be called in place of the earlier collective designations of Pelasgians and Achæans)—the two tribes of Ionians and Dorians had separated themselves by particular circumstances and a special development; and so indeed it was. Though they came from one canton the Dorians certainly did not remain unmixed. In the long storms and conflicts of the migrations, warriors of other descent

1 Strabo, p. 333.

had become allied with them, as the name of the third Doric tribe—that of the Pamphyli—the mixed settlements of the Dorians, especially at Halicarnassus, and the auxiliary expedition of the Ægidæ sent by Thebes to Sparta, have already proved to us. But they were engaged in the Peloponnesus in a number of common or similar enterprises; common or similar destinies might here effect, primarily at least, an analogous development. On the sea, too, the Dorians were scarcely inferior to the Ionians; the naval power of Argos, which maintained itself in Cythera and Ægina, and was allied with the Doric colonies in Crete and Rhodes, with Cos and Cnidus, with Melos and Thera, must then have been of great importance. The Dorians had shown their prowess in successful warlike expeditions; they could boast of an imposing array of settlements on the continent and on the sea; but they had appropriated to themselves in Crete and at Argos elements of culture, which then forthwith became the property of all the tribes of the Greek nation. If Argos took the precedence not only in power but also in culture, there was already formed for one of the neighbouring Doric states an organisation which might secure to it a brilliant future. If anything could be inferred from the character displayed by the settlements of the Dorians on the coasts of Asia, and subsequently by the colonies of the Dorians on the western sea, the seafaring Dorians developed a more versatile genius than those on the continent. On the other hand, the Dorians in Crete and on the peninsula are characterised by a hard, overbearing, masterful disposition, which indeed must have been the natural result of the successes of their arms, and their position as lords among the states founded by them, combined

with more or less genius for military discipline and fixed regulations, an aristocratic pride which sometimes clung to the ancient simplicity, and sometimes did not disdain to enjoy abundantly the fruits of a privileged position. In spite of a certain sluggishness, the Dorians could display quick comprehension, mother-wit, and sound judgment; they were distinguished by capacity of intelligence rather than by original productiveness.

Territories adjacent to one another, Bœotia, Attica, Eubœa, and the northern shores of the Peloponnesus, had been before the migration inhabited by closely-connected branches of one tribe. When these had been thrown back upon Attica, when Ægialieis, Eubœans, and inhabitants of Attica had together occupied the Cyclades, founded their cities beyond the sea, and celebrated common festivals at Delos, the old local names of the separate branches must have given place to the collective name, that of the Ionians; only the branch which had been united and retained its ancient habitation, the inhabitants of Attica, kept the territorial name together with the collective designation. The Ionians are distinguished by the most open and receptive genius, great versatility of mind, a poetic and productive spirit, and a lively impulse towards the independent shaping of life. They avoid war and fighting as little as the Dorians, and the dangers of the sea still less; the reward of their toils and deeds they find in the free enjoyment of life, in cheerful intercourse and joyful feeling of community; their ethics, for a longer period than those of the Dorians and Æolians, remained simple, instinctive, and unconscious. Thus Dorians and Ionians could vie with one another in the unfolding of the national life, and could

further it by supplementing one another. The Ionians might well place their settlements in the Cyclades and in Asia in juxtaposition to those of the Dorians; the impulses which they received in these new abodes enlarged the conceptions, the spiritual wealth, of the Greek nation, for which the Dorians in Crete gained the art of writing. The heroic song arising out of the hymn had just produced among the Ionians the freshest and most imperishable bloom. On the other hand, the Æolians, *i.e.* the Achæans in Asia, had deposited the germ of this growth, had planted the tree, which had now grown up among the Ionians. The battles of the Æolians on the north-west coast of Asia Minor, on the soil of the Teucrians, had caused old legends to grow into full life, and had given to the Greeks the heroic song which the Ionians had then brought to a final climax in their heroic songs. The religious league which the Æolians of the peninsula, with the advent of more peaceful conditions in the northern districts, had renewed around the sanctuary of Demeter at Anthela, and then extended to the abode of the oracle at Delphi, the common sacrifice, first brought by the Eleans, in conjunction with their nearest neighbours, to Zeus and Hera on the Alpheus, were at last to bear good fruit in the national feeling, the consciousness of unity, of the people now spread far and wide on both sides of the Ægean Sea.

The dialect of the Æolians has preserved the most ancient forms; with some local distinctions, it has nevertheless retained the original Greek stamp more strictly than the dialects of the Dorians and Ionians, and has consequently remained more akin to the Italian languages. The Æolic dialect is most closely approached by that of the Dorians; its rude though

strong and full sounds give an impression of greater breadth and heaviness. The dialect of the Ionians possesses softness and flexibility; instead of the monotonous vocalism of the Doric idiom, it has an abundance of vowel combinations of sound, which give it the distinguishing characteristics of comprehensiveness, fluency, and richness of form.

We have seen above that the knowledge of writing, the imitation of the Phœnician letters, came to the Greeks from Crete. It must have been the Dorians of Cnossus who learned in this formerly Phœnician city the writing of the Phœnicians. They retained the succession of sounds, and for the most part the Phœnician designation for them, and have never altered the characters of the letters nor the direction of the writing. The alphabets of Crete, Thera, and Melos are deficient in the signs for the Greek double consonants, which were unknown in the Phœnician language (p. 427). From Crete this alphabet must first have passed to Argos, the mother city of Cnossus. The first beginnings of the use of writing among the Hellenes must lie not much before the year 800 B.C.; in the course of the eighth century the first catalogues of the genealogies of princes, of the priests of celebrated sanctuaries, of the victors at the Olympic games, of the changing magistrates of the aristocracies, were made. The oldest inscriptions that have been preserved do not extend earlier than the middle of the seventh century. If the Dorians brought the alphabet to the Hellenes, it was the Ionians of Asia who invented the characters added to it for the sounds wanting in the Phœnician alphabet. The Dorians of Argos, Corinth, and Megara alone in the peninsula adopted the four new characters with the same significance. The most

ancient Attic inscriptions, such as those of Naxos, Paros, Siphnos, and Ceos, change φ and χ in the manner of the Ionians, but express ξ and ψ by χσ (κσ) and φσ (πσ). *All the other territories in which ancient* inscriptions have been found use χ for ξ and ψ for χ, and express ψ by φσ (πσ), or a different character *for this sound.*[1]

If the Greeks borrowed weights and measures, together with writing, from the Phœnicians, from the east, *it was again the Dorians in Crete who made* known the system of the Phœnicians in Greece, and transplanted it to Argos; while the Ionians of Phocæa *found these among* the Lydians, and *adopted another* system which equally came from Babylon; the arrangement and division of their year the Greeks invented for themselves. Like the Arians on the Indus, and the Germans, they had made the changes of the moon the basis of their year (p. 301), attempting to bring the shorter lunar year into harmony with the course of the sun by intercalations. In a previous chapter we arrived at the supposition that the oldest intercalary period, the cycle of eight years, had its origin in Delphi; in any case this is more ancient than the cycle of four years, according to which the return of the great sacrifice at Olympia was determined. The *octennial cycle* lies at the basis of the quaternal. The beginning of the year, the names of the months, the place of the intercalary months, varied among the Dorians, Ionians, and Æolians, and not only among the three tribes, but to a great extent among their branches and cities. The Delphic year began with the summer solstice—that of

[1] These results are attained in Kirchhoff's *Studien zur Geschichte des Griechischen Alphabets.*

the Bœotians with the winter solstice. The Dorians of Sparta, like the Ionians, began the year with the equal duration of night and day at the autumn equinox. The names of the months were taken from the gods whose festivals fell in them, from the names of the offerings sacrificed at these times, or of the fruits then gathered in. These differences in the commencement of the year, and of the deficiencies in the lunar months as compared with the course of the sun, among the tribes and cantons and cities, and the various methods of calculating the intercalary months, made it difficult even in later times for the inhabitants of separate commonwealths to agree as to definite terms and seasons; they tried to remedy this by making the solstices and equinoxes, or lastly, like the author of *Works and Days*, the rising of the most noticeable fixed stars, the Pleiades, Hyades, Arcturus, and Orion, into recognised points of time.

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